

**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL**



**Dr. P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI**



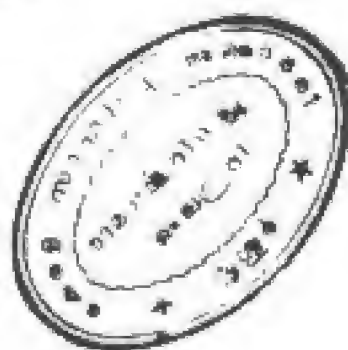
HISTORY  
GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL  
AND THEIR  
RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL  
LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

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BY

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*Respectfully Dedicated*

*My Ance*

*Arulambapudhyaya Vidyavachaspati Dasanna Kulavidhi Kulapati*

*Prof. P. Kuppuswami Sastriar Aol.,*

*M.A., F.C.S. (Retd.)*





## PREFACE.

The author of *Tolkāppiyam* may be said, for all practical purposes, to be the father of grammatical theories in Tamil Language, since the works of his teacher Agastya and of Agastya's eleven other disciples are not now available. Tamil Grammatical Theories have proceeded along two lines of development. One may be characterised as a progressive line and the other, a zigzag one. On the one hand, new theories came to be propounded and old theories came to be readjusted by grammarians, like the authors of *Viracōliyam*, *Nagṇūl*, *Pirayōkavivēkam*, *Ilakkaṇavilakkam*, *Tonnūlvilakkam*, etc., in the light of contemporary tendencies in literature and the inevitable changes brought on by usage. On the other hand, there appear to have been two schools of thought of an entirely different nature which have, by their influence, dragged the progress of grammatical theories along a zigzag course. *Tolkāppiyaṇār* belonged to one of them and the author of *Viracōliyam* represented the other. And among the later grammarians there is observable an interesting rhythmic oscillation of views between these two opposite schools. *Nēminūtam* and *Nagṇūl* which succeeded *Viracōliyam* switched back to *Tolkāppiyaṇār*'s view-point, while *Pirayōkavivēkam* which forms the next important contribution reverted to *Viracōliyam* school. The more recent grammatical works tend to converge towards *Tolkāppiyaṇār*'s school.

Probably for the first time, an attempt will now be made to present grammatical theories in Tamil Language in a historical setting and to examine how far they were influenced by the corresponding theories in Sanskrit grammatical literature. This thesis embodies the result of my independent work in the sphere of Tamil Grammatical literature. It may also incidentally enable one to appreciate the value of *Tolkāppiyam* in any endeavour to



account for several interesting grammatical categories in Tamil from the standpoint of modern linguistic history. In its preparation for the press, I have had the advantage of using the suggestions made by the examiners who valued the thesis submitted by me.

Attention is solicited, in particular, to the following portion of my thesis, in which will be found embodied such suggestions and ideas as I may claim to be original in the sense that they were arrived at through my independent study and investigation since 1925, and that they are set forth by me for the first time, so far as I know.

1. The real nature of *uricol* according to Tolkāppiyāṇār.  
*Vide pp. 199 to 203.*
2. The final element in the indeclinable participle forms *keḷi, acali, irli*.  
*Vide pp. 150 to 153.*
3. How *kaḷ* which was the pluralising particle only of *aḷḷinai* nouns in the ancient period came to be used in the verbs of *nyarḷinai* also.  
*Vide p. 164.*
4. The possible explanation from the literary evidence of the metamorphosis of the ancient *āḇ* (the third-case-suffix) and *iḇ* (the fifth-case-suffix) into *āl* and *il* respectively in the later periods.  
*Vide pp. 115 and 116.*
5. The explanation regarding the origin of 'a' the sixth-case-suffix.  
*Vide p. 114.*
6. The possible origin of 'a' in the participles *ceyhiṇṇa* and *ceyta*.  
*Vide p. 186.*
7. History of the metamorphosis of *niṇ* (2nd personal pronoun singular base of the ancient period) to *ni* of the later periods from literary evidence.  
*Vide pp. 132 and 133.*
8. Probable origin of the gerunds ending in *pāṇ, vāṇ, pākkū* and *vākkū* in the later periods.  
*Vide pp. 193 and 194.*
9. The possibility of Tolkāppiyāṇār having had for his model the works noted below for the sections noted against each:—

## SECTION:

## MODEL:

- (a) 1st & 2nd sections in *Ēṭṭatikāram* dealing with the initial and final vowels and consonants and the medial consonants in Tamil words. Similar sections in Prātiśākhya in general and R̥g-Vēda Prātiśākhya in particular. *Vide* pp. 41 and 42; 61 to 64.
- (b) 3rd section in *Ēṭṭatikāram* dealing with the place of production of *k, ṅ, c, ṇ, ṭ, ṣ, m*, etc. Similar sections in Prātiśākhya in general and Taittirīya Prātiśākhya in particular. *Vide* pp. 45 and 46.
- (c) *Iṭaiyaṭ* in Collatikāram. 1st chapter in Yāska's Nirukta. *Vide* pp. 197 & 198.
- (d) *Uṟiyaṭ* in Collatikāram. 2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters in Yāska's Nirukta. *Vide* pp. 201 and 202.

10. The probable reason why Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions that there is no single letter having three mātrās. *Vide* pp. 34 to 36.

11. Similarity between Tol. E. 83 dealing with origin of speech sounds and certain verses in Pāṇini Śikṣā. *Vide* p. 6.

12. The difference between Sanskrit *ē, ai, ō* and *au* and Tamil *ē, ai, ō* and *au*. *Vide* pp. 28 to 31.

13. The untenability of Dr. Caldwell's Theory of Convertibility of surds and sonants in the ancient period of Tamil Language. *Vide* pp. 54 to 58.

14. The untenability of Dr. Caldwell's idea regarding the origin of Sanskrit cerebrals:—One of the four points mentioned against his view is the difference in the pronunciation of Tamil *ṭ* and *ṣ* and Sanskrit *ṭ* and *ṣ* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār.

*Vide* pp. 58 and 59.

15. The nature of *āyṭam* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār.

*Vide* p. 65.

16. A critical examination of Dr. Caldwell's remark that cases in Tamil were arranged in imitation of Sanskrit.

*Vide* pp. 222 and 223.



17. That Tolkāppiyāṇār suggests the definitions of *peyar*, *viṇai*, *iṭai* and *uriccol* from their names; the difference in the interpretation of the sūtras Tol. Col. 198, 249 and 297.

*Vide* pp. 142, 195 and 200.

18. New interpretation in the construction of words in the following three types of sentences:—

(i) *nampi poṇṇeriyay* *Vide* pp. 227 and 228.

(ii) *cākāṭum accu iṇum* *Vide* pp. 22 and 22.

(iii) *aṭṭaṭṭakariyai aṇivum iṇannum*  
*Vide* pp. 229 and 230.

19. New interpretation of the sūtra Tol. Col. 61 and the word *viṇai* in Tol. Col. 112. *Vide* pp. 228; 142 f.n.

20. Refutation that vowel consonants are not secondary sounds. *Vide* p. 16.

21. How the authors of *Viracōḷiyam* and *Pērayōkavivēkam* did not view the Tamil grammatical theories through a proper perspective. *Vide* pp. 116; 165 to 167; 194; 204 and 205.

All the important statements and conclusions in this thesis are adequately supported by appropriate illustrations from literature and inscriptions and to some extent from the spoken language. Most of the relevant references are given in foot-notes. I have made an attempt to use the decimal system in the arrangement of topics. I leave it to the readers to see how far this helps to trace the evolution of Tamil language and its grammar.

Tolkāppiyāṇār has not stated much about accent in Tamil. Had it resembled *udātta*, *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *prachaya* as found in Vedic language, he would surely have made mention of them. It seems to me that the later grammarians have smuggled *udātta*, *anudātta*, etc. into the Tamil grammatical system without any real support from the history of Tamil language. The accent that is used at present differs for each group of districts. For instance, in Trichinopoly *vandīṅga* (corrupted form of *vanīrkaḷ*) receives the accent on the first syllable, but on 'i' in Madras. Hence I have not included accent as one of the topics in this thesis.

My thanks are due to Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswami Aiyar, M.A., D. Sc., Reader in Mathematics, University of Madras for having kindly translated for me into English the articles of Mr. J. Vinson found in *Journal Asiatique* and to Prof. D. S. Sarma, M.A. of the Presidency College, Madras for having gone through the manuscript and given some suggestions. I am deeply indebted to my Ācārya Mahāmahōpādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Darśanakalānidhī Kulapati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriyar Avl., M.A., I.R.S., for having been very kind to go through this book in the manuscript and the proof stages. I thank the Syndicate of the University of Madras for having permitted me to publish the thesis at my cost and the authorities of the *Journal of Oriental Research* for having readily relieved me of the burden by undertaking to publish it themselves.

*Tiruvadi.* }  
27—7—1934. }

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.





# BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

Name of the Work:	How reference is given:	Abbreviation used.
<b>TAMIL:</b>		
<b>GRAMMAR:</b>		
1. <i>Tolkāppiyam</i> *		Tol.
<i>Eluttatikāram</i> with the commentaries of Ṭampūraṇar (Kaṇṇiyappa Mudaliar Edn.) and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Sūtra No.	E.
<i>Collatikāram</i> with the commentaries of—	Do.	Col.
1. Ṭampūraṇar (Coomarasamy Naidu & Sons)	Do.	Ṭam.
2. Cēṇāvaraiyar (Śaiva Siddhānta Publishing Society)	Do.	Cēṇā.
3. Teyvacciṭaiyār (Mss. at Tanjore Palace Library)	Do.	Tey.
4. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Do.	Nac.
2. <i>Viṇcōḷiyam</i> (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Stanza No.	V.
Do. <i>Canṭippaḷalam</i>	Do.	VC.
Do. <i>Vēṇṇumaippaḷalam</i>	Do.	V.V.
Do. <i>Tokaippaḷalam</i>	Do.	V.T.

\* Sūtras in *Eluttatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* are here numbered as they are found in *Tolkāppiyam* published in the Journal of Oriental Research and those in *Collatikāram* as they are found in *Cēṇāvaraiyam* and the sūtras in *Nannāl* as they are found in Krishnamachariyar's Edition with *Kāṇṭikaiyurai*.

<i>Viracōḷiyam Tattitappaṭalam</i>	Do.	V.Tat.
Do. <i>Tāṭuppaṭalam</i>	Do.	V.Tāt.
Do. <i>Kiriyōṭṭappaṭalam</i>	Do.	V.K.
3. <i>Nēminātam</i> (Tamil Sangam Edn.)	Sūtra	N.N.
4. <i>Nanṇūl</i> with	Do.	Na.
(a) <i>Mayilainātarurai</i> (Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's Edn.)	Do.	Na.M.
(b) <i>Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavarurai</i> (Do. Edn.)	Do.	Na.C.
(c) <i>Kāṇṭikaiyurai</i> (Krishnamachariyar's Edn.)	Do.	Na.K.
5. <i>Pirayōḷavēḷkam</i> (Ārumukanāvalar Edn.)	Stanza	P.V.
6. <i>Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam</i> (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Sūtra	I.V.
7. <i>Ilakkaṇakkottū</i> (Ārumukanāvalar 3rd Edn.)	Stanza	I.K.
8. <i>Toṇṇūlviḷakkam</i>	Sūtra	To.V.
9. <i>Tolkāppiyamutarcāttiraviruttī</i> (Ārumukanāvalar 3rd Edn.)	Page	T.M.V.
10. <i>Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṇṇaṇṇi</i> (Ārumukanāvalar, 3rd Edn.)		
11. Handbook of Tamil Language by Dr. G. U. Pope	Do.	P.H.T.L.
12. <i>Tolkāppiya-c-collatikāra-k-kuṇippū</i>		

#### LITERATURE:

##### *Caṅkam Period:*

1. <i>Puraṇḍarū</i> (Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's 2nd Edn.)	Stanza and line	P.N.
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2. <i>Aiñkurunūru</i> (Do. )	Stanza	Al.N.
3. <i>Pattupṭṭi</i> (Do. )	Page and line	Pattu.
4. <i>Paripāṭal</i> (Do. )	Do.	Parī.
5. <i>Kalittokai</i> (E. V. Anantarama- Aiyar's Edn.)	Vol. and Do.	Ka.T.
6. <i>Akanāṅkūru</i> (V. Rajagopala Aiyangar's Edn.)	Page and line	A.N.
7. <i>Kuṇṇitokai</i>	Stanza	Ku.T.
8. <i>Kural</i> (Dr. Pope's Edn.)	Do.	K.
9. <i>Cilappalikāram</i> (Mahāmahō- pādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's 3rd Edn.)	Page and line	Cilap.
10. <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> (Do.) <i>Medieval Period:</i>	Do.	M.M.
11. <i>Tēvāram</i> (Cuvāmināṭa Paṇṭi- tar Edn.)	Page and Stanza	T.
12. <i>Nāḷiyiralīṟyappirapantam</i> (Krishnamachariyar's 3rd Edn.)		
(a) <i>Periyāḷṟārtirumolī</i>	Do.	P.A.T.
(b) <i>Periyatirumolī</i>	Do.	P.T.
13. <i>Nāḷaiyār</i> (V. Rajagopala Aiyangar's Edn.)	Stanza	N.
14. <i>Tiruvācakam</i> (Dr. Pope's Edn.)	Section and line	T. V.
15. <i>Civakacintāmaṇi</i> (Mahāmahō- pādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Edn.)	Stanza	C.C.
16. <i>Perunṅalai</i> Do.	Page and line	P.K.
17. <i>Kallāṭam</i>	Page and Stanza	Kal.
18. <i>Kamṇarāmāyaṇam</i>	Do.	Kamṇar.
(a) <i>Pālakāṇṭam</i> (V. M. Gopalakrishnamachariyar's Edn.)	Do.	B.
(b) <i>Ayōttiyākāṇṭam</i> (Do.)	Do.	A.

(c) <i>Āraṇiyakāṇṭam</i> (Krishnamachariyar's Edn.)	Do.	Āra.
(d) <i>Kiṭṭintāṇṭam</i> (Do.)	Do.	K.
(e) <i>Cunlarakāṇṭam</i> (Do.)	Paṭalam and Stanza	C.
(f) <i>Yuttakāṇṭam</i> (Chidambara Mudali Edn.)	Paṭalam and Stanza	Y.
19. <i>Tiruvālavāyūṭaiyār Tiruvāṭaiyāṭarpurāṇam</i> (Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar Edn.)	Page and Stanza	T.T.P.
20. <i>Villiputtūrār Pāratam</i> (Subramaniya Kavirayar Edn.)	Do.	V.P.
<i>Modern Period:</i>		
21. <i>Kaṭapurāṇam</i>	Vol. and Stanza	Ka.P.
22. <i>Kūrmapurāṇam</i>	Page and Stanza	K.P.
23. <i>Cēṭupurāṇam</i>	Do.	C.P.
24. <i>Vindāyakapurāṇam</i>	Do.	Vn.P.
25. <i>Taṇṭikaip̣purāṇam</i>	Do.	T.P.
26. <i>Tāyumanavarpaṭal</i> (Naga-linga Mudaliar Edn.)	Do.	Tā.
27. <i>Civatarumōttiram</i>	Iyaḷ and Stanza	Civa.

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*ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS:*

Sanskrit	Skt.	Manuscript	Mss.
Telugu	Tel.	Century	Cent.
Canarese	Can.	Commentary	Comm.
Malayālam	Mal.	Stanza	S.
Ceyyūḷiyal	Ceyyu.	Page	P.
Singular	Sing.	Line	L.

Plural	Pl.	Number	No.
Modern	Mod.	Foot note	F.n.
Edition	Edn.	<i>Kiñkara-vataiṣ- paṭalam</i>	<i>Kiñkarar.</i>
<i>Tiruvāṭiṭoḷuta- paṭalam</i>	<i>Tiruvāṭi.</i>	<i>Poruṭatikāram</i>	<i>Poruṭ.</i>
<i>Palaviciṭṭa- kāraṇaviyaḷ</i>	<i>Paḷa.</i>	Vararuci kārīka	Var. kār.



## INTRODUCTION.

It is my idea to present, in this thesis, the important grammatical theories in Tamil Language available from the written works of Tamil Grammarians and modern Tamil scholars in their historical setting and their relation to the Grammatical literature in Sanskrit and to discuss them on their merits and in reference to the evidences that may be collected from literary works and inscriptions.

The Grammarians mentioned in Tamil Language are:—

(1) Agastya with his twelve disciples *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, *Ataō-kōttācāṇ*, *Turālīṇkaṇ*, *Cempūcēy*, *Vaiyāpikaṇ*, *Vāyppiyaṇ*, *Paṇampāraṇ*, *Kalāraṇ*, *Avinayaṇ*, *Kākaipāṭiṇiyaṇ*, *Narrat-taṇ* and *Vāmaṇaṇ* who are said to have lived in the pre-Christian Era.

(2) *Ḫampūraṇār* otherwise known as *Uraiyaṇiṇiyār*, probably of the 10th century, the earliest known commentator on *Tolkāppiyam*, the learned treatise on Tamil Grammar written by *Tolkāppiyāṇār*.

(3) *Puttamittiraṇār* of the 11th century, the author of *Viracōliyam*.

(4) *Peruntēvaṇār* of the 11th or 12th century the commentator on *Viracōliyam*.

(5) *Kuṇaviraṇaṇṭitar* of the 13th century, the author of *Nēminātam*.

(6) *Pavaṇanti* of the 13th century, the author of *Naṇṇūl*.

(7) *Mayilaiṇātar*, probably of the 14th century, the earliest commentator on *Naṇṇūl*.

(8) *Cēṇāvaraṇiyār*, *Teyvaccilaiyār* and *Nacciyaṇṭkkaṇiyār*, the well-known commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* (whose dates are not exactly known).

(9) *Cuppiramaṇiya-tiṭṭitar* of the 17th century, the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam*.

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(10) Vaittiyanāta-tēcikar of the 17th century, the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*.

(11) Cuvāmināta-tēcikar of the 17th century, the author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū*.

(12) Caṅkaranamacciavāyappulavar of the 17th century, a commentator on *Naṇṇūl*.

(13) The Rev. C. J. Beschi of the 18th century, the author of *Tongūlvilakkam*.

(14) Civañña-muniyar of the 18th century, the author of *Tolkāppiyamutarcūttiravirutti* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṛāvaḷi*.

(15) A few other commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṇṇūl*.

Of them, Agastya and his disciples except *Tolkāppiyaṇār*, *Paṇampāraṇār*, *Ataṅkōṭṭācāṇ* and *Avinayaṇār* are known to us only from stray references found in the works of others. *Paṇampāraṇār* has written the *ṣāyiram* or the introductory stanza to *Tolkāppiyam*. There, it is mentioned, that *Tolkāppiyam* was written by *Tolkāppiyaṇār* after a careful study of the earlier treatises on Tamil grammar, on the model of *Aindra-Vyākaraṇa*, dealing with the Tamil Language current both in literature and usage from *Tirupati* on the north to *Cape Comorin* on the south; and that it was first read in the court of a *Pāṇṭiyaṇ* king for recognition before the grammarian *Ataṅkōṭṭācāṇ*. *Mayilānātar*, in his commentary on *Naṇṇūl*, mentions that a treatise on Grammar was written by *Avinayaṇār* and it was commented upon by *Irāca-p-pavittira-p-pallavataṛaiyaṇ*. But neither the treatise nor the commentary is available at present. The earliest treatise on Grammar that is available at present is only *Tolkāppiyam*. The later treatises are *Viracōḷiyam*, *Naṇṇūl*, *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, *Pirayōkavivēkam*, *Ilakkaṇakkottū*, *Tongūlvilakkam*, *Tolkāppiyamutarcūttiravirutti* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṛāvaḷi*.

The author of *Viracōḷiyam* improves upon *Tolkāppiyam* and mentions a few points with reference to the literature of his time which are not found in it. The author of *Naṇṇūl* has incorporated almost all those contained in *Tolkāppiyam* and *Viracōḷiyam* omitting a few, added a few points more and has given



expression to them as concisely as possible. In doing so he has not generally followed the important principle observed by Tolkāppiyaṇār that one sūtra should have only one *vidhēya* or logical predicate with reference to one *uddēśya* or logical subject and this mars the beauty of his work. The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, after making a critical study of Tolkāppiyam and *Naṇṇūl*, has selected sūtras from them both, given most of them as they are found there and modified the rest a little. Hence he may be treated more as a commentator on Tolkāppiyam and *Naṇṇūl* than an author of a separate treatise. *Pirayōkavivēkam* is a treatise by itself where the author imports the technical expressions and theories of Sanskrit Grammar. The author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū* summarises in a few sūtras the ideas contained in the works of his predecessors. Hence he may be taken as an author of a compendium rather than an independent work.

The author of *Tongūlviḷakkam* incorporates most of the sūtras found in *Naṇṇūl*, but modifies them wherever he differs from it. But in commentary on the same he has made very good use of the literature available to him.

Tolkāppiyamtaṟcūttiravirutti is an elaborate discussion on the first sūtra of *Eluttalikāram* of Tolkāppiyam, where the author avails himself of the opportunity to discuss the important views on Phonology and Accidence expressed by Tolkāppiyaṇār, by his commentators Uraiyāciriyaṇ, Cēṇāvaraiyaṇ and Nacciyārkkiniyaṇ, and the author of *Naṇṇūl*, with the aid of his ripe knowledge both of Tamil and Sanskrit.

*Ilakkaṇaviḷakkaccūṟāvaḷi* is only a criticism on the views of the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* where he differs from the author of *Naṇṇūl*.

I may also mention here that Tolkāppiyaṇār has worked out a beautiful Tamil Grammar on the models of Sanskrit *Prātiśākhya*s, Yāska's *Nirukta*, Pāṇini's *Śikṣā* and Pāṇini's Grammar or that of his predecessors without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil Language. It is also said by *Paṇampāraṇār* that he based his work on *Aindra-Vyākaraṇa*; but tradition says that all the eight treatises on Sanskrit Grammar including *Aindra*

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were ousted by Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The only reference which connects Indra with Sanskrit Grammar is found in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya where it is said that he studied Sanskrit Grammar word by word under Bṛhaspati for 1000 celestial years and was not able to complete it.<sup>1</sup>

There is striking correspondence between Kātantra and Tolkāppiyam in respect of arrangement of topics and use of technical terms such as *vibhakti* = *vēṟṟumai*, *dirgha* = *neṭil*, *hrasva* = *kuṟil* etc. From this Dr. Burnell<sup>2</sup> seems to infer that Tolkāppiyāṇār followed Kātantra and Prātiśākhya which, according to him, represented the Aindra School, instead of Pāṇini's Grammar and also conjectures that Tolkāppiyam may be assigned to the 8th century after Christ.<sup>3</sup> But from inscriptional and other evidences it is generally believed that the works of Sangam period could not have been produced later than 5th century A. D. and some of them like Puraṇāṇūṟu and Paṭirruppattū could be taken to the beginning of the Christian Era, and Tolkāppiyam is earlier than all of them. Consistently with this widely prevalent belief, it could hardly be held that Tolkāppiyāṇār had for his model the Kātantra Grammar which is said to belong to the first century after Christ.<sup>4</sup>

An attempt is made in this thesis to show that Tolkāppiyāṇār adapted not only the Sanskrit Grammatical terms and the arrangement, but also many of the Sanskrit grammatical theories. For instance, his account of the origin of speech-sounds and the function of case-suffixes is a close reproduction of what is found in old Sanskrit Grammars; while, however, in the treatment of compounds, and the initial and the final sounds of words, he appears to have made certain alterations and adaptations to suit the requirements of Tamil language. On the other hand, the authors of Viracōliyam and Pirayōkavivēkam have imitated

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1. *Bṛhaspatiḥ Indrāya divyam varṣa-sahasram pratipadektānām śabdānām śabda-pārāyaṇam prōvāca, nāntam jagāma.*

2. B. A. S. p. 8.

3. B. A. S. p. 55 f.n.

4. B. S. G. p. 83.

Pāṇini's Grammar in declension, conjugation and word-formation to such an extent that they have completely distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil Language should be analysed and evaluated. They have also incorporated in their works a close translation of Vararuci's Kārikās on Sanskrit compounds.

It will also be seen from the following pages that the other grammarians like the authors of Nagnūl and Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam have, in general, followed Tolkāppiyāṇār, though, here and there as in the case of accent and *aḷapeṭai*, they agree with the author of Viracōḷiyam.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided, in this work the period from the Pre-Christian Era to the present day into three:—Ancient, Medieval and Modern, Ancient representing the period extending from the Pre-Christian Era to the 5th century A.D. (*i.e.*) the end of Sāṅgam Period, Medieval, the period from the 6th century A.D. to the 14th century A.D. and Modern, the period from the 15th century A.D. upto the present day,

## 1. SPEECH-SOUNDS.

1. 1. *How speech-sounds are produced*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār says in the sūtra—

*Unti mutalā muttu-vuḷi tūyī-  
Talaiyigu miṭṭariyū neñciyū nilai-ḥ  
Pallu m-itaḷu nāvu mūkkum  
Ayyannu m-uḷappaḷa v-eyunūgai nilaiyūy  
Uyuppar v-aiyāya neṇṇipḷa nāḷi  
Ellā v-eḷuttuṇ colluṇ kōlai-ḥ  
Piṇappi v-ākkam vēru-vē v-iyala  
Tirappaḷa-l leriyūṇ kōḷci y-āna, (Tol. E, 83.)*

that air which starts from navel comes out as different speech-sounds by passing through the eight parts—chest, neck, head, hard palate, teeth, tongue, lips and nose, and undergoing different modifications therein. This is more or less the translation of the following Kārikās of Pāṇini's Śikṣā:—

*Mārutaślūrasī caran mandraṇ janayati . . . . . svaram |  
Kaṇṭhe mūḍhyandinayugam . . . . .  
Tāram tārītyasavanam śīrṣaṇyam jāgalānugam |  
Sodirṇo mūrdhnyabhikato vaktram-āpadya mārutaḥ |  
Varṇāṇ janayatē . . . . .  
Aṣṭāu śhāndni varṇānām uraḥ kaṇṭhāḥ śīras-tathā |  
Jihvāmūḷaṇca dantāśca nāsikāṣṭhāu ca tālu ca ||*

It may be noted here that *jihvāmūḷam* is translated as 'nā' or tongue, while it really means the root of the tongue.

Besides it is said in Pāṇini's Śikṣā that 'h', when it is in company with any one of the five nasals and four semi-vowels, is 'chest-sound' but that, when it is alone, it is guttural.

*Cf. 'Hakāram pañcamairyuktaṁ antasthābhīśca saṁyutam |  
Urayam tam vijānīyāt kaṇṭhyam āhurasamyutam ||*

(P. Ś. 16.)

Though Tolkāppiyaṇār has not stated 'k' among Tamil sounds, he has mentioned the chest as one of the organs of speech probably because the air which finally comes out as speech-sound passes through it.

But the other grammarians from ḷampūraṇar downwards have not correctly understood the significance of the mention of chest, neck and head. ḷampūraṇar says in his commentary on the sūtra—

*Mellelūti t-ārum piṇappi v-ākkum*  
*Colliya paḷḷi nūlaiyina v-āyiyum*  
*Mūkkū vaḷi-y-icai yāppura-t tōyrum.* (Tol. E. 100.)

where it is said that the nasals have for their organ of production, nose also besides their respective organs of production, that the voiceless consonants are produced by *talai-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the head, and that the semi-vowels are produced by *miṭṭaru-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the neck. This statement of his is probably due to the fact that, of the eight organs mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār in Tol. E. 83, all but chest, neck and head have been mentioned as organs of production in sūtras 84 to 100. But he does not seem to have noted that *uṇṇai* or chest mentioned in Tol. E. 83 is left out.

The author of Vīracōliyam mentions the same eight organs<sup>1</sup> as Tolkāppiyaṇār, but does not say anything as ḷampūraṇar does about the places where *valligam*, *melligam* and *ḷaiyigam* are produced. But his commentator Peruntēvaṇār says that the voiceless consonants are produced at the chest, *āyiam* at the head, vowels and semi-vowels at the neck and the nasals at the nose.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Uti-matal-ḷuḷ kāyru-p-piyant-uru mañ-ciramm*  
*Pantamali-kaṇ tamu-mūkkum-uy-r-aṇṇam paḷ-t-ṇayē*  
*Muntum-ital-nā maḷi-y-uzupṇāku mayarci y-i-y-āḷ*  
*Vantu-nikala m-ḷuttēṇu-colluvaz cūṇutalē.* (V. C. 6.)

2. *Ivaṇṇuḷ, urattai valligamum, cirattai āyiamum, kaṇṇattai*  
*uyiram ḷaiyigamum, mūkkai melligamum, poruntum-ṇa-k-*  
*kaḷka.* (V. C. 6. Comm.)



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The author of Nappūl closely follows Peruntēvanār in all respects.<sup>1</sup>

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam improves upon Tol. E. 83 by adding that the sound has emanated from *udāna* which is made to rise by the will of the person.<sup>2</sup> This clearly shows that he has in his mind the Kārikā—

*Ātmā buddhyā sametyūrtihūn mano yuvakte vivakṣayā |*

*Maṇaḥ kāyōgnim āhanti sa prarayatī mārutam ||*

which precedes 'Mārutastūrasī caran etc.' in Pāṇini's Śikṣā, and agrees with Ilampūraṇar that *vallinam* is produced at the head, *mellinam* at the nose and *iṭaiyinaṁ* at the neck<sup>3</sup> and differs from Nappūlār in saying that *āytam* is produced at the chest<sup>4</sup> instead of at the head. This is perhaps due to his having known that the Sanskrit 'k' is produced at the chest when it is in company with any one of the five nasals and semi-vowels; but since *āytam* must invariably be followed by a voiceless consonant, it is more appropriate to say that it is produced in places just near the places of production of the respective voiceless consonants. This point will be dealt with at great length in 1.55.

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1. *Niṇai-yuyir mūyarcayī u-uḷaḷi tirappa*  
*Eḷum-aṇṇu-t tirai-uraṇ kaṇṇa m-ucci*  
*Mūkkur i-itaḷ-uḍ-ṇ pol-i-aṇa-t toliliṇ*  
*Vevvē i-ḷuttolai y-āy-varai piṇappē. (Na. 74.)*  
*Aṭṭaḷi,*  
*Āvi y-itaṇmai y-ita-miṇa i-ākam*  
*Mēṇu meṇmai-mūḥ ku-uram-ṇerum vaṇmai. (Na. 75.)*  
*Āyta-k k-itaṇ-talai y-aṇkā mūyarcē*  
*Cārpeḷut i-ṇṇa-v-un tam-muta i-aṇaiya. (Na. 87.)*
  2. *Uyir-uḷaṇ putūṇṇaṇi ṇāta m-ucci*  
*Mūyarcā mūkkur i-itaḷ-uḍ-ṇ pol-i-aṇa-t*  
*Tataintu piṇṇa v-aṇṇṇatu viṇaiyūṇ*  
*Vēṇ-vē i-ḷuttolai y-āy-varai piṇappē. (I. V. 9.)*
  3. *Aṭṭaḷi y-āvi y-ita-miṇa i-ucci*  
*Vaṇmai meṇmai-mūḥ k-icaiyē i-ṇṇa-v-un. (I. V. 10.)*
  4. *Āyta-nēṇ cōcai-yi ṇ-aṇkūn i-iyalūṇ*  
*Cārpeḷut i-ṇṇa-v-un tam-muta i-aṇaiya. (I. V. 13.)*

C. J. Beschi follows Nagnūlār *in toto*<sup>1</sup>.

From all this it is evident that the Tamil Grammarians with the exception of Tolkāppiyar have not recognised the true distinction between the *ābhyantara-prayatna* and the *bāhya-prayatna* mentioned by Pāṇini and other Sanskrit Grammarians. They have not also recognised that the classification of vowels, explosives, semi-vowels and fricatives is due to their distinction in *ābhyantara-prayatna* and that the classification into voiceless and voiced is due to the difference in the condition of the vocal chords and certain concomitant factors which come under *bāhya-prayatna*<sup>2</sup>.

It may be useful to note in this connection that the tension of the vocal chords and the accompanying vibration and musical clang or voice correspond to the *bāhya-prayatnas* of the voiced consonants, viz., *saṃsāra*, *nāda* and *ghōṣa*, while the flaccid condition of the vocal chords and the accompanying non-vibration and breath correspond to the *bāhya-prayatnas* of the voiceless consonants, viz., *vivāra*, *śvāsa* and *aghōṣa*.

At the end of the third section in *Eluttatikāram*, Tolkāppiyar states in two sūtras—

*Ellā v-eluttum valippaṭa-k kilantū*  
*Colliya paḷḷi y-elutaru valiyir*  
*Pirappoṭu viṭuvali y-uralcci vāra-t*  
*Takkattelu valiy-icai y-aripaṭa nāḷi*  
*Aḷapir kōṭa l-antaṇar maraittē. (Tol. E. 102.)*  
*Aṣṭiva nūvalā t-eluntu-puṇat t-icaikkū*  
*Meyteri valiy-icai y-aḷavu-nūvaṇ ṛiciṇē.*

(ibid. 103.)

that the theory of speech-sounds and modifications which sound undergoes within the body may be learnt from the scriptures of

1. T. V. J. Comm.

2. *Samvṛtī kēṇṭhē nūdaḷ kriyotē. (Tai. P. II, 4.)*

*Vīṭṛē śvāsak. (Tai. P. II, 5.)*

... *Kēṇṭharya kēṇ vīṭṛē samvṛtī vā āpadyatē*  
*śvāsātām nādatām vā. (R. V. P. 13, 1.)*

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the Brahmins and that he has dealt with here only the articulated speech-sounds that come out of the mouth. Here it is evident that he refers to the four phases of speech-sound, *parā*, *paśyanī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikhari* described in Sanskrit Grammar, *parā*, being that phase of the *śabda-brahman*, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at *mūlāsthāna* or sacral plexus, *paśyanī* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to Yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vaikhari* being that phase which is manifested out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following Rk mentioned by Patañjali in the first *āhnika* of his Mahābhāṣya :—

*Calvāri vākparimitā padāni*  
*Tāni vidur brāhmanā yē manṣiṇaḥ* |  
*Guhā tēpi nīhitā nēḡgaṇanti*  
*Turīyam vācō manṣyā vadanti* ||

(M. B. i. 3. 24 and 25.)

Hence the three sūtras, Tol. E. 83, 102 and 103 clearly show that Tolkāppiyāṇār had studied Sanskrit Śikṣā, Prātiśākhya and grammar, and had adopted in his work those points which would suit Tamil Language.

1.2. *Classification*:—Speech-sounds are first classified into primary and secondary in almost all the treatises on Tamil Grammar. They are respectively called *mutal-eḷuttū*<sup>1</sup> and *cārpeḷuttū*<sup>2</sup> by Nappūlār and his successors. The name *cārpeḷuttū* may have been suggested to them by the expression '*cārntu-varaṇ maraṇ*' in the first sūtra in *Eḷuttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam.

1.21. *Primary sounds* : 1.211. *Definition*:—Primary sounds are those which have only one definite place of production in vocal organs for each of them. That this is the idea of

1. *Uyiru m-uṇampum-ā muṇṇatu mutalē*. (Na. 59.)

2. *Uyirney āytam uyiraḷapu orṇaḷapu*

*Ai-kipa i-u ai-au mu-i. kūṇ*

*Taṇi-nilai pattuṇ cārpeḷut t-āḷum*. (Na. 60.)

*Meḷi-k-kū raṇam-ā mūta-kū riya-u-ōi*

*Eḷuttatu mutal-cār p-eṇ-a-u-iru vakaiṭṭē*. (I. V. 3.)

Tolkāppiyānār is inferred from his statement that secondary sounds are found only in the company of primary sounds and cannot have a separate place of production.<sup>1</sup>

1.212. *Number of primary sounds*:—The primary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyānār, thirty<sup>2</sup> in number consisting of 12 vowels<sup>3</sup> and 18 consonants<sup>4</sup>. The author of Viracōḷiyam mentions *āytam* between vowels and consonants and thence according to him the primary sounds seem to be thirty-one.<sup>5</sup> The author of Nēminātam follows him in this point.<sup>6</sup> But all the other grammarians repeat the opinion of Tolkāppiyānār.

It seems to me that the authors of Viracōḷiyam and Nēminātam have gone wrong in having included *āytam* among primary sounds, since its pronunciation varies according to the consonant that succeeds it. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.55.

1.213. *Classification of primary sounds*:—Primary sounds are classified into vowels and consonants, of which the vowels are produced by opening the mouth, which is seen from the

1. *Cārntu varin -allaiu tamakkīyal-pilav-e-eyā-t*  
*Tērutu-vēḷi-p paṭutta v-ēḷi mūvūru*  
*Tattai cūrpīr piṇappōṇu cūmāi*  
*Oṭta kōṭciyir paṇṇiṇai-p-iyaḷum.* (Tol. E. 101.)
2. *Eluttēṇa-p-paṭṭa*  
*Akara-mutal*  
*Nakara v-iṇuvūy muppa -teṇṇa*  
*Cārntu-varan marupir mūvūraḷu kōṭaiyā.* (ibid. 1.)
3. *Aukāra v-iṇuvūy-p*  
*Paṇṇi v-ēḷutta m-uyir-eyā mōḷipa.* (ibid. 8.)
4. *Nakara v-iṇuvūy-p*  
*Paṭiṇṇē ṇ-ēḷutta meṇ-eyā mōḷipa.* (ibid. 9.)
5. *Ayinta-v-ēḷuttam-mey paṇṇiṇai-ṇ-ēḷutta l-ān-kam-mey*  
*Piṇṇai-paṭiṇṇēṇu meṇ-ṇai-v-āytam peṇṇiṇai-ṇ-ēḷutta*  
*Muṇṇai-ṇ-ēḷutta m-ēḷutta l-ān-ṇai-ṇ-ēḷutta*  
*Cēṇṇai-ṇ-ēḷutta m-ēḷutta l-ān-ṇai-ṇ-ēḷutta.* (V. C. 1.)
6. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āṇṇai-ṇ-ēḷutta*  
*Mūvūru kakara-mutal meṇṇai-ḷ-ēḷutta*  
*Kannu mūvūrai-ṇ-ēḷutta kōṭṭi-ṇ-ēḷutta*  
*Naṇṇumutal mūvūrai-ṇ-ēḷutta.* (N. N. E. 1.)

expression 'aṅkāntū iyalam' in Tol. E. 85 and *avarṇōraṇṇa* in Tol. E. 86, etc. The vowels and the consonants will be dealt with in detail after secondary sounds are defined and numbered (i.e.) in 1.3 and 1.4.

1.22. *Secondary sounds*: 1.221. *Definition* :—Secondary sounds are those which depend for their pronunciation upon the preceding or succeeding consonants. This is evident from Tolkāppiyāṇār's statement 'cārutū varuṇ allatū tanakkū iyalpila' in Tol. E. 101.

But Naṅṇūlār does not seem to have understood the full significance of this definition of Tolkāppiyāṇār. He seems to have mistaken *kurriyal-ikaram* and *kurriyal-ukaram* for 'i' and 'u' shortened to half a *mātrā* each. According to Tolkāppiyāṇār the places of production of *kurriyalikaram* and *kurriyal-ukaram* are not always the same as those for 'i' and 'u', but change according to the preceding consonant.

Mayilainātar says that *cārpeḷuttū* is that which is other than *mutal-eḷuttū* and which is used along with another sound.<sup>1</sup> An old commentator on Naṅṇūl says that *cārpeḷuttū* is one which has undergone modification by one part of it combining with another part or by being preceded or succeeded by another sound.<sup>2</sup>

The author of *Ilakkana-viḷakkam* agrees with Mayilainātar.

Caṅkara-namacciavāyar says that *cārpeḷuttū* is that which is used only in combination as vowel-consonant, which comes in company of *mutal-eḷuttū* as *āytam* or *mutal-eḷuttū* modified as the rest. He adds that it may also be defined as a sound found only in words.<sup>3</sup>

Civaṇāṇa-muṇivar, on the other hand, agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār and elaborately criticises in his *Tolkāppiya-mutar-cūttira-*

1. *Mutaleḷuttūn-taymai avarṇiṇ-imaivāṇum, cārpiṇ-ṇōraṇṇa-āyṇum iṇṇattum cārpuḷavē koḷḷavēṇṇum-eypatū.* (Na. 59, M.)

2. *Tammozū tām cārutum, iṇṇam cārutum, paṇṇukkāyū cārutum, vikāraittāl varutaliṇ.* (Na. p. 40- f.n.)

3. *Uyirmey uyirum meyyum kūṇi-p-piṇattalāṇum, āytam ... avarṇ-iṇaiyē cārutu-varutalāṇum iṇaiya tattamutaleḷuttū-ṇiripū*



virotti, the definition given by the commentators of Nannūl and the author of Ilakkapa-viḷakkam.

1.222. *Number of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār, three in number consisting of *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* (roughly translated as shortened 'i'), *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* (roughly translated as shortened 'u'), and *āytam*<sup>1</sup>, and each of them has half a *mātrā* for its quantity.<sup>2</sup> Ilampūraṇar mentions under Tol. E. 1, that they are 226 in number consisting of *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* and *āytam*, 7 *uyir-aḷaṭṭai* and 216 vowel-consonants. According to the author of Viracōliyam they are 11 in number consisting of 7 *aḷaṭṭai* (one corresponding to each of 7 long vowels), *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au'.<sup>3</sup> The author of Nēminātam mentions both in his text and commentary 244 secondary sounds consisting of 7 *uyir-aḷaṭṭai*, *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, shortened 'ai', shortened 'au'

*vikūyattūṟ piṟattalāṇum cārpeluttāyinaṇṇāka-k-kōḷka . . .*  
*ṟumoliyai-c-cāṇṇu varuṭalē tamakk-ilakkaṇam-āṇuvuṭimaiyir*  
*cārpeluttāyina-v-ṇa-k-kōḷalum-ām-cy ka.*

(Na. 60. C.)

1. *Amittām,*

*Kuṟṟiya i-ikaram kuṟṟiya i-ukaram*

*Āytam-cyṟa*

*Mappāṟ puḷḷiyu m-ēluttā r-aṇṇa.* (Tol. E. 2.)

2. *Auviya-ṇṭaiyu m-ēṇai māṇṇē.* (ibid. 12.)

3. *Iṟuti-mey-nāṅkiya vāṟṇṭil-aiutu kuṟṟiṇṭil-ēl*

*Peṟuvaiyāṇṇu nīrmai-y-aḷapu piṇṇinta-varakkam*

*Aṇṇaṇṇu-vallōṟṟu melloṟ ṟum-ām-vaymai mēl-ukaram*

*Uṟuvaiṇ-naiyum toṟarmolī-p-piṇṇu uṭiṟ-piṇṇumē.* (V. C. 2.)

*Akaram-vakaratti ṇṭṭiyaint-aiṇṇūm vakarattiṇṭṭi*

*Akaram-iyaintaiya tākum ā ē ṭ viṇṇā-c-antam-ām*

*Ekara-akara-mey iṟ-puḷḷi-māṇum a-i-u-c-cuttāṇ*

*Ikaraiṇ-kuṟuki varuṇ-kuṟṟukaram-piṇṇu ya-v-variṇṇē.* (ibid. 3.)

*Kuṟṟeluttāṇṇu ṟ-ai-y-āḷum-ai-au viraṇṇuṇṭil*

*Oṟṟeluttāṇṇu i-u-v-ai-piṇṇaḷa p-ōḷṇuyir-mey*

*Mappēluttāṇṇuyir mātṭirai-y-ē-peṟu maṇṇuṇṇiṇṇa*

*Oṟṟeluttāṇṇu u-uyir-vaiṇṇ-ēṟu m-aḷi-y-aiyē.* (ibid. 5.)

216 vowel-consonants (*ka, kã, ki*, etc.), 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 nasals, and the shortened 'y', 'l', 'w', 'l' and &l.

Nagṇūlār mentions 369 secondary sounds consisting of 216 vowel-consonants, 8 *murrāyatam*, 21 *uyir-alapetai*, 42 *orralapetai*, 37 *kurriyal-ikaram*, 36 *kurriyal-ukaram*, 3 shortened 'ai', 1 shortened 'au', 3 shortened 'm' and 2 shortened *āytam*.<sup>2</sup> He explains them thus :—Since there are 12 vowels and 18 consonants, the number of vowel-consonants is  $18 \times 12 = 216$ .<sup>3</sup> Since there are 6 voiceless consonants which can follow *āytam*, since *āytam* is substituted in sandhi for consonants as in *av + kaṭiya = aṅkaṭiya* and since it is inserted in certain words for the sake of metre as in *ceyvātū* (for *ceyvātū*), the number of *murrāyatam* is  $6 + 2 = 8$ .<sup>4</sup> Since *alapetai* can come at the beginning, the middle and the end of words and since there are seven long vowels, the number of *uyir-alapetai* is  $7 \times 3 = 21$ .

1. Önküyirka þarriqnā lāgi y-yürmey-yay  
 Äñbiru nūyroropat tūyākum—pūñkūpāiyi  
 Valloḡḡu moliḡḡu varḡka m-aḡapetaika?  
 Colloḡḡi nāttas takum. (N. N. E. 3.)  
 Teḡarḡeḡḡi kīl-ḡḡḡḡai mēl-ukarḡm ya-p-ḡḡi  
 Paḡaiya varum-ikar m-aḡḡi—maḡa-mallā  
 Mummāi-y-iḡat t-ai-y-aḡ-a-m kuyḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ  
 Commāi-y-ḡi r-ḡḡḡ cegḡatā. (ibid. 4.)
2. Uyirḡey y-irātḡḡ-nāḡ y-ḡḡḡḡ r-āytam  
 Eḡḡḡi r-aḡapeli mūḡḡḡ r-aḡapeli  
 Äḡḡ ḡḡḡ m-mūḡḡ paḡḡḡ  
 Ukara m-āḡḡ ḡ-aiḡḡ mūḡḡ  
 Aukā ḡ-ḡḡḡ ma ḡḡḡ mūḡḡ  
 Äḡḡ m-irāḡḡḡ cārḡḡḡ t-ḡḡḡ-ḡḡḡ  
 Oḡḡḡi mūḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡ-ḡḡḡ. (Na. 61.)
3. Puḡḡi-ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ-ḡḡḡ m-aḡḡ-y-ḡḡḡ v-āḡi-y-am  
 Eḡḡi y-yür ḡ ḡḡḡḡ tirintum  
 Uyir-aḡ vāy-aḡḡ m-ḡḡḡḡḡ tirḡḡḡḡḡ  
 Peḡḡḡḡ m-ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ-āḡḡḡḡ m-aḡḡḡḡ. (ibid. 89.)
4. Kurḡḡḡḡ m-aḡḡḡ r-āyt-a-p-puḡḡi  
 Uyir-aḡ puḡḡḡḡḡḡ lāḡḡ m-aiḡḡ. (ibid. 90.)
5. Icaḡ-keḡḡ m-ḡḡḡḡḡ l-iḡḡi-kaḡḡi nīlai-mḡḡ  
 Aḡḡḡḡ m-aḡḡḡḡḡ r-iḡḡ-ḡ-ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ. (ibid. 91.)

Since the 11 sounds *ñ, ñ, ṇ, ṇ, m, ṇ, y, l, v, l* and *ṇ* can come as *orṇaṇaṇai* after one short vowel or two short vowels, in the middle of words in the case of all and at the end in the case of all except *ṇ*, the number of *orṇaṇaṇai* is  $11 \times 4 - 2 = 42^1$ . Since *kurṇiyal-ikaram* takes the place of *kurṇiyal-ukaram* when the latter is followed by 'y' in sandhi and there are 36 *kurṇiyal-ukaram* and the 'i' in the particle 'miyā' in such words as *kēṇmiyā* is *kurṇiyal-ikaram*, its number is  $36 + 1 = 37^2$ . Since *kurṇiyal-ukaram* may be preceded by one of the 7 long vowels alone, two or more vowels except 'au' (which are therefore 11 in number), *āyṭam*, 6 voiceless consonants, 6 nasals and all semi-vowels except 'v' (which are therefore 5 in number), its number is  $7 + 11 + 1 + 6 + 6 + 5 = 36^3$ . Since *aikāra-k-kurṇukkam* may be found at the beginning, the middle and the end of words, its number is 3<sup>4</sup>. Since *aikāra-k-kurṇukkam* can be had only at the beginning of words, its number is only 1<sup>5</sup>. Since *makara-k-kurṇukkam* can be had after *ṇ* and *ṇ* and before *v*, as in *maruṇṇi*, *pōṇṇi*, *taruṇi-vaṇavay*, its number is 3<sup>6</sup>. Since *āyṭam* may be substituted for *l* or *l* in sandhi, as in *al + tṇai = aṇṇai* and *mīl + tṇi = mīṇṇi* and its *mātrā* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  (according to him), the number of *āyṭa-k-kurṇukkam* is 2<sup>7</sup>.

Naccinārkkiniyar repeats under Tol. E. 1 the opinion of Ilampūraṇar.

The author of *Ilakkapa-viṇakkam* mentions that the secondary sounds are 240 in number consisting of *kurṇiyal-ikaram*, *kurṇiyal-*

1. *Nā-ñā-ṇā nā-ma-ṇā va-ya-ṇā-ṇā v-āyṭam*  
*Alaṇṇi kuril-iṇai kurṇi-ṇi-iṇai-keṇai*  
*Mikālā yavarṇiṇi kurṇi-yām vāyē.* (Ibid. 92.)
2. *Yakarṇam vāra-k-kurṇi-ṇi-t-tiri y-ikaramam*  
*Aṇai-c-col miyā-v-i-ṇ-ikaram-iṇi kurṇiṇa.* (Ibid. 93.)
3. *Nepilā t-āyṭa m-a-yir-vai meli-yaiṇai*  
*Toṭar-mai y-iṇai vaṇmai-y-ē r-ukaram*  
*A-ṇ-kum piṇamēl toṭara-v-am pēṇṇi-ē.* (Ibid. 94.)
- 4 & 5. *Tay-vuṭ t-aṇaṇai y-ai-m-mē vaṇi-y-am*  
*Nai-yā m-aṇ-v-u mūṭal-aṇ ṇūṇ-kum.* (Ibid. 95.)
6. *Nā-ṇa-muṇṇam va-ṇ-āṇ miṇai-y-ma-k kurṇukam.* (Ibid. 96.)
7. *La-ṇ-v-ēṇ t-iyaipṇiṇi m-āyṭa m-a-ṇ-kum.* (Ibid. 97.)

*ukaram*, *āyām*, 216 *uyirmey*, 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, 11 *orṭaḷapeṭai*, shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au' and *makara-k-kurukkam* and condemns Nannūlar and says that *āyām* never reduces itself to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a *mātrā*, and that other sounds like *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, etc., except *uyir-mey* remain the same, whether they stand at the beginning, the middle or the end of words and that therefore the number 369 mentioned by Nannūlar cannot stand<sup>1</sup>.

Civañña-muṇivar, on the other hand, says that there is no purpose served by taking *uyirmey* as *cārpeluttū*, that *uyir-aḷapeṭai* is only a short vowel added to the previous long vowel to lengthen its *mātrā*, that *orṭaḷapeṭai* is only a consonant that is added for the sake of lengthening the *mātrā*, and shortened 'ai' shortened 'au' and *makara-k-kurukkam* are produced at the same part of the vocal organs as 'ai', 'au' and 'm' respectively, but vary only in their quantity. Besides one cannot say that *kurriyal-ikaram* and *kurriyal-ukaram* are shortened 'i' and shortened 'u' in the same way as shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au'. For, had it been the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār, he would have designated them as *kurrikaram* and *kurrukaram* and not as *kurriyal-ikaram* and *kurriyal-ukaram*, and would not have indicated a separate symbol for them as he now does in Tol. E. 2.<sup>2</sup>

I totally agree with Civañña-muṇivar. I may add that the definition given to *cārpeluttū* by the commentators on Nannūlar to include vowel-consonants does not at all hold good. (Cf. 1.221. *supra*.) They say 'tammotū tām cārniatū'. In the vowel-consonant 'ka', we may say that 'k' is in the company

1. *Āyata-k-kurukkam-oru iṇṇeyarum... uyirmey-pōlittū ṇṇaiya-  
v-ellām itaṇṇummai-yāṇ-āṇṇi eluttu-vēṇṇummai-yāṇ aṇṇam paḷkūmai-yiṇ  
cārpeluttū munnūṇṇar-paṭṭaṇ-paṭām eṇṇal niraṇpātū.*

2. *Iṇi imūṇṇum-tē-y-āṇṇi uyirmey mutaliya-ṇṇai-yūṇ cār-  
peluttu-ṇṇarum uḷarāḷ v-ēṇṇ;—... uyir-mey eṇṇataṇṇai... orṇummai-  
ṇayam-paṇṇi oṇṇū eṇṇataṇṇāl oru paṇṇai-yūṇmai-yāṇṇum... aḷapeṭai  
cārpeluttu-ṇṇa v-ēṇṇkūmai muṇṇar-k-kāṇṇa-paṭṭaṇṇūkaḷāṇṇum, aḷāra-k-  
kurukka mutaliyāṇṇa... v-ēṇṇeluttu-ṇṇa-p-ṇṇā-v-ikaḷāṇṇum zaṇṇūlārūm...  
... uyir-mey, uyir-aḷapeṭai, aḷāra-k-kurukkam mutaliya eluttukkaḷai-c-  
eṇṇitū tirintamai-paṇṇi v-ēṇṇeluttu-ṇṇa yāṇṇū coḷḷamai-yāṇṇum atu poruṇṇātū  
eṇṇa maṇṇka. (T. M. V. 29—30).*

of 'a' or 'ā' is in the company of 'k'. Hence either of the two may be said to be *cārpeluttū* with respect to the other. How can the whole be called *cārpeluttū*? Besides it may be noted here that in many places the sounds 'ka', 'ca', 'pa', etc. are used to represent only the consonantal sound 'k', 'c', 'p', etc. to enable the hearer to understand what consonant is pronounced and Tolkāppiyāṇār himself says so in the sūtra *Meyyi u-iyakka m-akaramoṭu civaṇum*. E. 46. He has also used the symbols 'ka' (ச), 'ca' (ச), etc. to represent 'k' (க), 'c' (ச), etc.<sup>1</sup>; besides for the purpose of representing the sounds 'kā', 'ki', 'kī', etc., the symbols denoting 'ā', 'i', 'ī' etc. are added to the symbol denoting 'ka' and not to the symbol denoting 'k'. These three points, it seems to me, may have led the author of Nēminātam, Nappūlār and others to mistake *uyirney* for a unitary sound. As regards *aṭapētai* and shortened 'ai', Tolkāppiyāṇār himself has mentioned them in the sūtras,

*Māvaḷa p-icaiṭṭa l-ār-eḷu t-iṇṇē*, (Tol. E. 5.)

*Nāṭṭam vēṇṭi u-a-v-aḷa p-uṭaiya*

*Kūṭṭi y-eḷṭa l-eṇmaiṇār pūlavar*. (ibid. 6.)

and

*Ūr-aḷa p-āḷu m-iṭṭaṇṇā r-uṭē*

*Tēruṭ kālai mōḷi-vāyi u-āṇa*. (ibid. 57.)

but has not included them among secondary sounds.

1.223. *Classification of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are not classified by Tolkāppiyāṇār either as vowels or as consonants, or as neither. But according to Nappūlār and the later grammarians except Civaṇāṇa-muṇivar they may be classified into vowel secondary sounds, consonant secondary sounds and secondary sounds that are neither. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.348, 1.3481, 1.3482, 1.3483, 1.3484, 1.47 & 1.5.

1. Cf. *Vallēḷut t-eṇṇa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ṭa*. (Tol. E. 19.)

*Melleḷut t-eṇṇa ā-ā-ṇa na-ma-ṇa*. (Ibid. 20.)

*Ṭai-yēḷut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-ḷa va-ḷa-ḷa*. (Ibid. 21.)

## 18 HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

### 1.3. VOWELS: 1.31. CLASSIFICATION.

1.311. *Ancient period*:—(Tolkāppiyam̃ār says that) there are 12 vowels from 'a' to 'au' which may be classified thus:

Primary vowels:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple vowels: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Short: } a, i, u, e \text{ \& } o \\ \text{Long: } \bar{a}, \bar{i}, \bar{u}, \bar{e} \text{ \& } \bar{o} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{Diphthongs}^1 \quad \quad \quad au \text{ and } \bar{a}u \end{array} \right.$

Secondary vowels;  $\bar{i}$  (shortened  $i$ ) and  $\bar{u}$  (shortened  $u$ ).<sup>2</sup>

1.312. *Medieval period*:—The primary vowels are the same as those in the ancient period; but the secondary vowels are 'ī', 'ū', 'ai' (shortened  $ai$ ) and 'āu' (shortened  $au$ ) and *uyiraḷa-peṭai*, *āa*, *ii*, *ūu*, *ēe*, *aii*, *ōo* and *auu*.

1.313. *Modern period*:—According to *ḷakkana-viḷakkam* and *Toppūl-viḷakkam* the primary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period and the secondary ones as those of the medieval period; but according to *Civaṇāṇa-muṇivar's* *Tolkāppiya-mutaṛ-cūttira-viṇutti* both the primary and the secondary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period.

*N.B.*—The parallelism between

'*Aukāra v-iṇuvāy-p paṇṇū-ḷuttum*  
*uyir-eyā moliṇa*'. (Tol. E. 8.)

and

'*Akārādyāḷ varā jñēyāḷ*  
*aukārāntāḷ catuṛdaṣu*'. (B. N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of *Nāṭya Śāstra* is anterior or posterior to *Tolkāppiyam*.

1. He does not mention the name diphthongs, but suggests it in the *sūtras*

*Akara ikara m-aikāra m-āikam*. (Tol. E. 54.)

*Akara akara m-aakāra m-ākam*. (Ibid. 55.)

2. He does not mention 'ī' and 'ū' as vowels, though, for practical purposes, they may be taken as such.



1.32. *Quantity of vowels*:—Short vowels have one *mātrā*,<sup>1</sup> long vowels and diphthongs two<sup>2</sup> and secondary vowels half<sup>3</sup>. The shortened 'ai' and the shortened 'au' have one *mātrā* according to Tolkāppiyāṇār<sup>4</sup> and one and a half according to Peruntēvaṇār<sup>5</sup> and Kuṇavīra-panṭitar<sup>6</sup>; but only one *mātrā* according to Nagnūlar<sup>7</sup> and the later grammarians.<sup>8</sup>

1.33. *Quality of vowels*:—All vowels are open sounds, as is seen from the statement 'aṅkāṇṭiyalum' in the sūtra

'Avarṇu!

A ā a-y-iray i-aṅkāṇṭiyalum' (Tol. E. 86) and

'avarṇōraṇṇa' in the sūtra,

I-ī e-ē ai-y-eyya v-icaikkum

A-p-pā i-aṇṭu m-avarṇō r-aṇṇa.

Avaitān,

Ay-pan mutenū vilimṇ-ṇa i-aṇṭiya.' (ibid. 86.)

and 'iṭaḷkuvintiyalum' in the sūtra.

1. Avarṇu!  
A i u  
E o eyya m-a-p-pā i-aṇṭum  
Ōraḷa p-icaikkum kuṇṇēḷu i-eyya. (Tol. E. 3.)
2. Ā ī ē  
Ē ai  
Ō au eyya m-a-p-pā i-ēḷum  
Īraḷa p-icaikkum neṇṇēḷu r-eyya. (Ibid. 4.)
3. Avariya vilaiyu m-ēṇai mēṇṇē. (Ibid. 12.)
4. Ōraḷa pāku m-iṭayum-ā r-aṇṇē  
Tēraṇṇi kūlai mōḷivay i-ēya. (Ibid. 57.)
5. Aikāra aṅkāra-k kuṇṇakkāṇṇaḷ eyyaṇṇai  
māttirai peyṇu. (V. C. 5 Comm.)
6. Kuṇṇēṇṭilka i-eyyaṇṇa . . .  
.....  
.....  
Ai-y-aṇ v-aḷaṇṇa r-aṇṇai. (N. N. E. 5.)
7. Māṇṇu uyiraḷaṇṇu ir-aṇṇūm uṇṇil aṇṇē  
Kuṇṇēḷu ai aṇ-k kuṇṇakkum eyyaḷaṇṇu  
..... (Na. 99.)
8. Nēṇṇil-i-ay iai-y-aṇ-k kuṇṇakkam kuṇṇil-aṇṇu  
..... (I. V. 24.)

*U-ā o-ō au-v-eṇa v-i-caikkum*

*A-p-pā l-aiutu m-ilal-kuvin l-iyalum.*<sup>2</sup> (ibid. 87.)

All the later grammarians agree with Tolkāppiyāṇār in this point.

*A* and *ā* are guttural vowels<sup>1</sup> *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē* and *ai* are palatal<sup>2</sup> and *u*, *ū*, *o*, *ō* and *au* are labial.<sup>3</sup> The minute distinction as regards the place of production of *i* or *ī*, *e* or *ē* and *ai*, and of *u* or *ū*, *o* or *ō* and *au* is not clearly expressed, but it is mentioned that their distinction is only small.<sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup> The places of production of *i* and *ū* are modified, according to Tolkāppiyam, by the consonant in whose company they are.<sup>6</sup> It seems to me that it is the consonant that precedes them that modifies their places of production; for instance in the words *nākkīyātū* (*nākkū* + *yātū*) and *tappīyātū* (*tappū* + *yātū*), *i* is respectively guttural and labial. Similarly in the words *nākkū*, *taccū*, *kappū*, *mattū* and *tappū* 'ū' is respectively guttural, palatal, alveolar or cerebral, dental and

1. *Avartu*

*A ā āyiran t-ākkū tiyalum.* (Tol. E. 85.)

2. *I ī ē ai-v-eṇa v-i-caikkum*

*Appū l-aiutu m-avartū r-anna*  
*Avaitām*

*Appa mutavā vilimpura l-attaiya.* (Ibid. 86.)

3. *U ū o ō au-v-eṇa v-i-caikkum*

*Appū l-aiutu m-ilal-kuvin l-iyalum.* (Ibid. 87.)

4. *Tattan tiripē ciṇiya v-eṇṇa* (Ibid. 88.)

5. This is perhaps after the model of Prātiśākhya. For instance in Śaunakapraṭīśākhya it is said that *e*, 2nd *varga*, *i* & *ī*, *ai*, *y* & *ś* are palatals. Cf. *Tālavṇavēkkūra cakāravargā vikārāikārānyakāraḥ śakāraḥ* (R. V. P. i, 19). Similarly *u*, *ū*, *ō*, *au*, 5th *varga*, *v* & *upadhmāniya* are said as labials. (Cf. R. V. P. I. 20.)

6. *Cārntu-vari v-allatu tamakkiyal pila-v-eṇa-i*

*Tērntu-velī p paṭutta v-ēṇai mūṇṇum*

*Tattān cūrpiz piṇappoṭu ciṇai*

*Oṭta kūṇṇiyiṇ tēm-miyal piyalum.* (Tol. E. 101.)

labial. But the authors of *Naṇṇūl* and *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam*<sup>1</sup> say that they (*i* and *u*) respectively agree with 'i' and 'u' in the place of production. *Civaṇṇa-muṇivar* on the other hand agrees with *Tolkāppiyaṇār*<sup>2</sup> and he seems to be correct.

1.34. *Treatment of each vowel sound.*

1.341. 'A' : 1.3411. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 "In Tamil 'a' is the heaviest of all the simple vowels and therefore the most liable to change. It evinces a tendency to be weakened into 'e' (Cf. Skt. *balam*—strength, with Tamil *belam*: Skt. *japa*—prayer, with Tamil *ṣebam*. See also the pronoun of the first person)".

It seems that the change of 'a' to 'e' in the above *tadbhava* words is not due so much to the heaviness of 'a' as to the peculiar way in which 'g', 'j', 'ḍ', 'ḍ' and 'b', the third plosive consonant of each *varga* in Sanskrit is pronounced. They are pronounced as 'gə', 'jə', 'ḍə', 'ḍə' and 'bə'. When the Tamilians first learnt these sounds which were new to them, they had a tendency to write *belam* for *balam* though later on they began to adopt both the forms *ḷalay* and *ḷelay*. This may be clearly seen from the following table:

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gaṅgātīra</i>	<i>keṅkātīram</i> <sup>3</sup>
<i>Garuḍa</i>	<i>keluḷaṇḍ</i> <sup>4</sup>
<i>Gatādyas</i>	<i>ketādyu</i> <sup>5</sup>

1. ....  
*Cārpeḷut tēṇṇavun tamunta l-aṇaiya.* (Na. 87.)  
*Cārpeḷut tēṇṇavun tam-mufa l-aṇaiya.* (I. V. 13.)
2. *Ṣamam paṇṇukḥḍṭum kuṇṇiyal-ikarak kuṇṇiyal-ukarāṇkaṇṇiṇṇ*  
*aṇku-c cārpeṇṇaṇḍ-ṇ-aṇṇi-k kuṇḍiṇṇaṇṇaṇṇa-k kārāṇṇuṇṇā-kū-*  
*ṇaṇṇaṇṇa.* (T. M. V. p. 28.)
3. *Keṅkātīratṭu-t-tācam.* (P. K. 33, 220.)  
(The country on the banks of the Ganges.)
4. *Keluḷaṇḍ nante ṇeṇṇḍ.* (C. C. 192b.)  
(Whether Nanda is Garuḍa.)
5. *Camar purintavay-ṇṇum ketāyu v-aṇṇiṇṇaṇṇ.* (V. P. 405, 37.)  
(Even he who engaged himself in battle lost his life.)

## 22 HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gaja</i>	<i>kacam</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>Japa</i>	<i>cepan</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>	<i>vekuvīriya</i> <sup>3</sup> .

But at the same time they use the same sounds without change also.

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gagana</i>	<i>kakayam</i> <sup>4</sup>
<i>Gaṅgā</i>	<i>kaṅkai</i> <sup>5</sup>
<i>Gaja</i>	<i>kacam</i> <sup>6</sup> .

The same change does not generally take place when 'a' is preceded in Sanskrit by *kh* or *gh*, *ch* or *jh*, *dh*, *ph* or *bh*.

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Khadyōta</i>	<i>kaccōtam</i> <sup>7</sup>
<i>Ghaṭa</i>	<i>kaṭam</i> <sup>8</sup>
<i>Chala</i>	<i>calām</i> <sup>9</sup>
<i>Jhātī</i>	<i>caṭī</i> <sup>10</sup>

1. *Kca turaka mutalāṅga caturāṅkam*. (Tā. 33, 6.)  
(The four limbs consisting of elephants, horses, etc.)
2. *Cepan-tanan-tāṅgam*. (C. P. 319, 2.)  
(Meditation, penance and gifts.)
3. *Vekuviṛiya*. (Pi. 24.)  
(Possessive compound.)
4. *Kakaya-vāṇarkaṭ* (Ka. P. i. 493, 13.)  
(Residents of celestial regions.)
5. *Kaṅkai kaṅkai y-eṅga vācakattūṭē*. (P. A. T. 80, 1.)  
(With the words of the Ganges, the Ganges.)
6. *Kaca-rata-turaka-mā-k-kaṭal*. (Kampar, B. 149, 22.)  
(The vast sea of elephants, chariots and horses.)
7. *Kaccōtam eṅṇū karṇi*. (Ka. P. i. 569, 43.)  
(Having taken it to be glow-worm.)
8. *Kaṭamuṇi-cēraiṭṭum*. (Ka. P. i. 133, 65.)  
(With the arrival of the pot-sage Agastya.)
9. *Chala-p-paṭaiyāṅ iravir pūkkiriyal-ellām*. (Parl. 43, 57.)  
(All the on-slaughts of the Indian Cupid at nights.)
10. *Caṭī riṭṭā*. (C. P. 84, 20.)  
(Having fallen soon.)



But considering the statement of Dr. Caldwell, that "Tamil being probably the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious, and that which contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms, it is deservedly placed at the head of the list" (C. D. G. p. 6.), and considering the fact that words ending in 'ai' are found in Tol-kāppiyam (Cf. *avai-y-ivai y-eyā varānum pēyārum...* Tol. Col. 167) and that it is more natural for 'ai' to be lightened to 'e' (as is found even now in spoken Tamil *yāgai* as *yāne*, *karai* as *kare*, etc.) and later to 'a' as Tol-kāppiyāṇār says that 'ai' may be changed to 'ay'<sup>1</sup>, the 'y' of which may afterwards be dropped, is it not more reasonable to assume that the parent Dravidian language had 'ai' at the end of such words instead of 'a'? But in the medieval period 'a' before the palatal explosives 'c' and 'ṣ' and semi-vowel 'y' in the middle of words had a tendency to change to 'ai' mostly in literary works perhaps by the influence of prosody. Cf. *araiṇay* for *aracay* in *kali-araiṇay* (Ep. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. VII, V. G. line 90), *maiṇen* for *mañcu*, *maiyaḥ* for *mayai*, etc.<sup>2</sup>. Then through analogy 'ai' was substituted for 'a' even before non-palatal sounds. Cf. *paḷaimai*, *iḷaimai*, for *paḷamai* and *iḷamai* respectively. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that 'a' is most liable to change may apply to a certain extent only in the medieval period and in the modern period. Cf. *caritai* for Skt. *carita*.

1.3413. Besides it may be interesting to note that the Tamil pronunciation of 'a' may have influenced the South Indians to pronounce the Sanskrit 'a' at the end of words like *paśya*, *vada*, *gaccha*, etc. as an open vowel though it is a close one according to P. A. 8.4.68 and M.B.i.15.14 and it is still pronounced in North India as such.

1.3411. 'Ā': 1.34111. The statement of Dr. Caldwell that 'ā' is formed in Tamil by the coalescence of two short

- 
1. *Akara-t t-impār yakara-p paḷḷiyum*  
*At-ye peṭaiñ-cūṭai mey-peṭa-t tūṇṇam.* (Tol. E. 56.)
  2. *A ai mutal-iṇai y-ōkkuñ ca-ñṇa-yu-muṇ.* (Na. 123.)





1.3421. 'I'. The final 'i' in *nī* is shortened when case-suffixes are added to it<sup>1</sup>.

1.343. 'U'. Dr. Caldwell says that "u is of all vowels the weakest and lightest and is largely used especially at the end of words for euphonic purposes or as a help to enunciation. The Tamil rule with regard to the addition of 'u' to words which end in a consonant is that in words which end in any hard or surd consonant, viz., *k*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *ṭ* or *p*, or in the hard rough *r* which is peculiar to these languages, the hard consonant shall be followed by 'u' in consequence of its being impossible for Tamilian organs of speech to pronounce those letters without the help of a succeeding vowel. In most instances this enunciative 'u' is not merely short but so very short that its quantity is determined by grammarians to be equal only to a fourth of the quantity of a long vowel.... It often happens (though it is not an invariable rule) that the final surd to which enunciative 'u' has been appended, is doubled apparently for the purpose of furnishing a fulcrum for the support of the appended vowel. Thus the Sanskrit *vāk* becomes *vākku*. The rule is further extended in Tamil so as to apply to the final consonants of syllables as well as to those of words. If a syllable, though in the middle of a word, terminates in one of the hard consonants above mentioned and if the initial consonant of the succeeding syllable is one which cannot be assimilated to it, the final consonant is doubled and 'u' is affixed. Thus Skt. *advaita* becomes in Tamil *attuvaida*".

Here three points are to be noted:—(1) The rule stated above holds good only in the case of *śabdabhāva* words (i.e.) words tamilised from Sanskrit; for no pure Tamil word can have according to the Tamil grammarians, *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *ṭ*, *p* or *r* as the final member<sup>2</sup>. (2) The 'u' that is added at the end of such words

1. *Nī-ye p-oru-peyar uṭṭu-mutal kuṟukun*  
*Āvayī p-aḥara m-oyyā kum-m-ā*. (Ibid. 180.)
2. *Nā-na-na-ma pā-ya-ra-la va-ṭa-ṭa-veṇṇam*  
*Aṭ-paṭi p-oyyē pulḷi y-iṟuṭi*. (Ibid. 78.)

have, in the opinion of the Tamil grammarians, for their quantity one *mātrā*<sup>1</sup> and not half a *mātrā* as stated by Dr. Caldwell ; for, this 'u' does not play the same part in sandhi as 'ū' (*kurriyal-ukaram*) at the end of pure Tamil words:—*vāku* (*tadbhava* of *vāk*)+*iñkē* becomes *vākkū-v-iñkē* ; while *nākkū* (pure Tamil word)+*iñkē* becomes *nākkīñkē*, the intervocalic 'u' being inserted in the former case and 'ū' being dropped in the latter case<sup>2</sup>. (3) The addition of 'u' at the end of a syllable under the conditions stated above has certain limitations. It cannot hold good where there are two or more conjunct consonants. For instance, the Sanskrit word *plutākṣara* is tamilised into *pulutākkaram* and not *pulutākkūṣaram*. Hence the same law may be modified thus :—wherever in the middle of a word two or more conjunct consonants which can not be assimilated to each other appear, the intervocalic 'i' (*vyakta* into *viyattam*) or 'u' (*pluta* into *pulutam*) is inserted since the genius of the Tamil language is to minimise the conjunct consonant. 'U' alone is not inserted, but 'i' also is inserted; this is generally determined by the consonants that precede and those that follow. This point is clearly stated in *Viracōliyam* and *Nannūl*, the grammars of the medieval period<sup>3</sup>. *Viracōliyam* speaks of the

1. *Ētu, tātu eṇṇam vaṭa-mōḷi-y-iṇṇi-y-ukaramum... āṇṇi-y-icaittal-eṇṇum... āṇṇam icaiyūmaiye... kurriyal-ukaram tamil-c-ciyappēṭṭākalie vaṭamōḷiye vārātāyirā.* (T. M. V. 28.)

2. But it must be noted that the final 'u', whether at the end of pure Tamil words or *tadbhava* words or *tatsama* words, is now pronounced as if its 'ū', though grammars sanction it only in certain cases. This is a clear case where *false analogy* has played its part to the full ; for instance, the final 'u' in 'iṇu' must have one *mātrā* and must be pronounced as 'u', but it is now pronounced as 'ū' though it is quite against the rules of grammar.

3. *Kūṭṭēṭṭiṇ-pin ya-ra-la-k-kaiṭṭēṇṇiṇ kūṭṭitaiyē*  
*Ūṭṭēṭṭāka-p peyūm-arikāram va-v-va-k-k-or-u-v-ṇm*  
*Mūṭṭēṭṭu-t-tami l-attāṇu-pūm-vēṇu tēṇu-c-collin*  
*Mūṭṭēṭṭum-m-ita ṇāl-ay-i-mayṇai vikāraṭṭiṇā.* (V. Tat. 8.)  
*Inaintiyal kūlai ya-ra-la-k-kikaram-am*

insertion of 'i' and 'u', while Nāgūl speaks of that of 'a' also as in *aratayam*, the *laddhava* of Sanskrit *ratna*<sup>1</sup>, which is seen in the following sentence,

'*aratayek kalaca viyay karam*' (T. P. kaṭavu], 3)

(Big hand holding a pot made of gems.)

1.3431. 'Ū'. Ū, as Dr. Caldwell says, is sufficiently persistent.

1.344. 'E' & 'O'. These two sounds, Dr. Caldwell says, are not found in Sanskrit. His statement is almost true; but Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* says that 'e' and 'o' are not generally found in Sanskrit, but find a place in the *Sātyamugri* and *Rāṇāyanīya Śākhās* of the *Sāma Vēda*<sup>2</sup>. The same point is noted in *Tolkāppiya-mutaṭ-ēttira-viruttī*<sup>3</sup>.

M. J. Vinson says that 'e' and 'o' are always preceded by 'y' & 'w' respectively. This is true in the Tamil districts of India; but in Jaffna, I hear that it is not so<sup>4</sup>.

1.345. 'Ē' and 'Ō'. Dr. Caldwell seems to think like the Tamil grammarians of the modern period that these two sounds are the same as are found in Sanskrit. The author of *Pirayōka-vivēkam* says in his commentary under the 5th sūtra '*akara v-ikaram-ē karam-ākum*' (a and i become ē) and '*akara v-ukaram-ōkaram-ākum*' (a and u become ō) and calls them *canti-y-akkaram*.

*Mā-v-va-k k-ukaram-am nakar-k k-akaram-am*

*Micai-varum va-v-vaḷi yu-v-vu m-ām piya.* (Na. 149.)

1. This insertion of a vowel at the beginning is called *prothetic anaptyxis* and the same in the middle is called *medial anaptyxis*. This plays a large part in the Indian *Prākṛts*. Cf. *utiyā* for *sirī* and *paḍuma* for *padma*.

2. *Chandōḡānām sūtyamugri rāṇāyanīyāḥ ardhamaḥkaram ardhamaḥkaraṇī cādhyāyatē; naiva hi lokē nānyasmin vēḍe ardhā ḍkārārḍrha-ḍkārḍ vānti* (M. B. i. 22, lines 21, 23 & 24).

3. *Ekara okarahkaḷ . . . tūmazētam-utaiyāruḷ oru-ēārūr icai parri-k kuḷū-k-kuṭipḍa k koṇṭitupa-v-ākalāṇum* (T. M. V. 26).

4. A temporary fact of Phonetics in Dravidian, *Dixieme Serie* tome 18, 1911 . . . (J. A.)

Civañāṇa-muṇivar also says so.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me that they are entirely different; for the Sanskrit 'ē' and 'ō' are diphthongs in their origin wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic tauto-syllabic *ai*, *ei* and *oi*, and tauto-syllabic *au*, *eu* and *ou*, respectively. They are still remembered as such in Prātiśākhya (R. V. P. i, 11; and A. V. P. iii, 40), and by the Sanskrit Grammarians Pāṇini, Patañjali and others. Cf. *ēcaḥ sandhyakṣarāpi*. For grammatical purposes too, they are such when *a* and *i* coalesce into 'ē', and *a* and *u* coalesce into 'ō' and wherever they are respectively split into *ay* and *av* in sandhi as in *dēvē + iha* and *gurō + iha* which respectively become *dēvayiha* and *guraviha*. But they are not diphthongs wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic *az*. In pronunciation, they became simple long vowels even in the *Saṁhitā* period. This is seen from the fact that, in sandhi if the initial member of the succeeding word is 'a' and the final member of the preceding word is 'ē' or 'ō', the 'a' is elided.<sup>2</sup> (cf. *harē + atra = harētra*; *gurō + atra = gurōtra*) Cf. *lupyatē tu akōra-ēkārāṇkārāpūrvah* (Tai. P. xi, 1); *ēkara-ukārāntāt pūrvah padādērahārasya* (A. V. P. iii, 53). For grammatical purposes it is more an exception that they are simple long vowels rather than a general rule. But in Tamil they are always simple sounds as in the parent Indo-European language, and not diphthongs; for *a + i* becomes *a-v-i* or *ā + i* becomes *ā-y-i* as in *a-v-v-iṭam* and *ā-y-iṟuṭinai*, and so also *a + u* becomes *a-v-u* as in *paṭa-v-uṇṇu*. This difference in their nature is one of the points which determine that Tamil is independent of Sanskrit.

M. J. Vinson is of opinion that these two also are preceded by 'y' and 'w' in their pronunciation. But I hear that such is not the case in Jaffna.

1.346. 'AI': 1.3461. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 that "ei unlike the Sanskrit diphthong 'ai' represents *e* and *i* and not *a*

1. *Ekaram-āvatu akarakkūyum-ikarakkūyum . . . tammaḷ-otticaiṭtu naramataṅkal-pōṇṇūkalūyum . . . iṇṇūṭal-paṇṇi ē, ō, ai, au eṇṇu nōṇ-kiṇṇaiyum vaṇṇūlār cōṭiyakkaram-eṇṇar*. (T. M. V. 25.)

2. Cf. M. V. G. p. 4 Para 6 and p. 15 Para 2.

and *i*.' The reasons he adduces for the same are (1) 'it is represented in Grantha and Malayālam by a double *e* and in Telugu-Canarese by a character which is compounded of *e* and *i*'; (2) it is also to be observed that the Tamil *ai* is the equivalent of the *e* of the Malayālam accusative and is the ordinary representative of the final *e* of Canarese substantives and verbal nouns; (3) it is worthy of notice also that Kumārilabhaṭṭa in transliterating Tamil *naḍai* into Sanskrit characters writes it not as *naḍai*, but as *naḍe*.'

If the first reason holds good for Tamil '*ei*', it holds good for Sanskrit '*ai*' also, since it is represented in Devanāgarī script as two *e*'s (ॐ); it is not safe to determine the nature of a sound from its symbol.<sup>1</sup> The second point has already been answered under 1.3412. As regards the third point, Kumārilabhaṭṭa may have had in his mind the forms of spoken Tamil but not of written Tamil for he says *cōr* for *cōrū*.<sup>2</sup> The '*u*' at the end is only '*ū*' and so people may have pronounced *cōrū* as almost similar to *cōr*. I have already stated that the final '*u*' or '*ū*' is spoken only as '*ū*'. Similarly *naḍai* also may have been pronounced as *naḍe*, as is done even now. Hence Dr. Caldwell's third reason also cannot stand. Besides, Tolkāppiyāṇār clearly says that *ai* may be split into *a* and *i*<sup>3</sup> and *ay* may be used instead of *ai*.<sup>4</sup> It also appears to me that the way in which Tamil *ai* was, and is, pronounced may have influenced the pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* in the pre-Christian Era; for, in the earliest times, it is possible that the latter was pronounced as *āi* since it represented generally the Indo-Germanic *āi*, *ēi* and *ōi*. At the time of the author of Taittiriya-Prātisākhya, it appears it

1. The symbols in Telugu for *v*, *p*, *r*, *s* and *h* have greater similarity than dissimilarity and it is not safe to conclude from it that they are related sounds.

2. *Cōr ityukṛt* (K. T. V. under 1—3—9 and pp. 200 and 201 in Vol. 42 of the Indian Antiquary).

3. *Akara ikara m-aiḥāra m-āḥum*. (Tol. E. 54.)

4. *Akara-t i-imḥar yāhara-p pulḷiyum*

*Ai-ye netaṇ-aiṇai mey-paṇ-t tōḇṇum*. (Ibid. 56.)

was pronounced as *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) *i* ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) where *a* had half a *mātrā* and *i* one and a half *mātrās*.

Cf. *Ākāśadrāham ākāśānukārayōḥ ādih*  
and

*Ikārō adyarthah pūrvasya śeṣeḥ.* (Tai. P. ii, 26 and 28.)

The same, it seems to me, was the pronunciation at the time of Patañjali.

Cf. *Āicōśea uttarabhūyatrāi.* (M. B. i, 22, 18.)

It has been accepted that Patañjali lived in the 2nd century before Christ. The Tamil extant Grammar *Tolkāppiyam* may be taken to belong at least to the beginning of the Christian era, and there is no inscription or literary work in Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam belonging to that date. It is evident that, at the time of *Tolkāppiyam*, *ai* in Tamil was pronounced in the same way as it is now, since he says *ai* may sometimes be written as *ai* (அஃ) or *ay* (அய்). Hence I am led to believe that the present pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* might be due to the influence of Dravidian languages, especially Tamil.<sup>1</sup>

1.3462. This *ai* is different from Sanskrit *ai* in two ways. Sanskrit *ai* is, for grammatical purposes, *āi*, and it is formed by the coalescence of *a* or *ā* with *i*; but, in Tamil, if *a* or *ā* is followed by *i*, both would respectively become ' *avē* ' generally and *āvē* or *āyē*, but never ' *ai* '. Hence, this cannot be said to be a diphthong in the same way as the Sanskrit *āi*; but it may be called so since it is split into *a* and *i*, or *a* and *y*, if it stands at the beginning of a word. Cf. *aivaṇam* அஃவைம் or *ayvaṇam* for *aivaṇam* (ஃவைம்).

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1. When *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya* says that *ai* was *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) *i* ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) it refers in all probability to its pronunciation. *Śukla Yajurveda Prātiśākhya* says that the first part of *ai* and *au* is *a* and the second part *i* and *ū*. This evidently refers to the etymology of the same. *Rg-vēda Prātiśākhya* and *Atharva-vēda Prātiśākhya* do not seem to say anything definitely on this point. But Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that *ai* and *au* were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of *Prātiśākhya*s. (M. V. G. 15. 4.) I am not able to find out why he has said so.



1.347. 'AU'. Dr. Caldwell states that 'it has been placed in the (Dravidian) alphabets solely in imitation of Sanskrit. It is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives; and when such derivatives are used in Tamil, they are more commonly pronounced without the aid of this diphthong. Ordinarily, the diphthong is separated into its component elements; that is, the simple vowels *a* and *u*, from which it is derived, are pronounced separately, with the usual euphonic *v* of the Tamil between them to prevent hiatus.—e.g. the Sanskrit noun *saṅkhyam* is ordinarily pronounced and written in Tamil as *ṣavukkiyam*," (C. D. G. 136.) The same opinion is held by M. J. Vinson<sup>1</sup> and G. U. Pope.<sup>2</sup> Their whole argument stands on the assumption that it is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives. But there are words like *avai*, *ṣavai*, *kaṇṇai*, *vaṇṇai*, etc. which are pure Tamil words. In such cases *au* is replaced by *av* as *avai*, *ṣavai*, *kaṇṇai*, *vaṇṇai*, etc. and not by *au* as in *ṣavukkiyam* as stated by Dr. Caldwell. Cf. *uḍḍi* *kaṇṇi* (N. 70.) *kāṇṇiyam* (P. N. 188. 4). Besides, Tolkāppiyāṇār says that the initial *au* of a word may be split into *a* and *u*<sup>3</sup> and ḷampūraṇār says under Tol. E. 56 that it may be replaced by *av* as *ai* is replaced by *ay*. But Sanskrit *āu* though it was pronounced even at an early period as *au*<sup>4</sup> is for grammatical purposes only *āu* and can be replaced by only *āv* and not *av*. It also seems to me that the Tamil pronunciation of *au* may have changed the pronunciation of Sanskrit *āu* as in the case of *ḍi*, since the Sanskrit *āu* ought to have been once pronounced as *āu* and then as *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) *u* ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) at least till the time of Mahābhāṣya.

1.348. 'Ī'. This sound is peculiar to Tamil. It is found in the middle of words like *kēṇṇiṇṇi*,<sup>5</sup> and in places where the

1. Sur un caractere singulier dans l'alphabet Tamoul in J. A. Onzieme Serie tome vii, 1916, p. 313, 4.

2. P. H. T. L. p. 13.

3. *Akara akara m-akāra m-ākum*. (Tol. E. 55.)

4. M. V. G. 13, 3.

5. *Kuṇṇiya līkara niṇṇai vāṇṇam*  
*Vāṇṇai cīṇai-mīcai uraiyācai-k kīṇṇi-k*  
*Kūṇṇiyi vāṇṇam makara m-ūṇṇi*. (Tol. E. 34.)

final 'û' of a word is followed by 'y' as in *nākū + yātū = nākī-yātū*.

*What could be its origin?* This may have been originally in the parent Dravidian language a glide almost similar to 'û', and it may have been represented by 'î' whenever it was followed by the palatal semi-vowel *y*. Hence the Tamil grammarians have stated that *û* changes to *î* when the former is followed by *y* in sandhi.

1.3481. 'Ū': 1.34811. It has already been stated that this differs from *u* both in quality and quantity and also undergoes change in sandhi quite differently from it. This is not found in Sanskrit, but it plays a large part in Tamil and so *Tolkāppiyam* contains one full chapter explaining the changes which it undergoes in sandhi. It is used as the final member of words except in the word *niñtai*<sup>2</sup> after a voiceless consonant in words other than those which have only one short vowel which is not followed by a conjunct consonant or *āytam*.<sup>3</sup> Thus in *atu*, *itu*, *utu*, *u* is not *kurriyal-ukaram*; but in *añkū*, *aātū*, *aḷapū*, *yātū*, it is *kurriyal-ukaram*. *Ū* in *ēlu*, the modern form of ancient *ēl* cannot be *kurriyal-ukaram* according to its definition in grammar, though it is pronounced so now. I have already stated that it has for its organ of articulation that of the previous voiceless consonant.<sup>4</sup> (Cf. 1.22. *supra*)

*What could be its origin?* Was it formerly *u* and was then shortened on account of accent or was it a vowel glide like the neutral vowel which appeared in pronouncing the final

1. *Punariya pilai-yūtai-k kaṇukatu m-uṟittē*  
*Uṇara-k kūṇiy muṇṇar-t tōṇṇum*. (Ibid. 35.)
2. *Kurriya t-ukara muṇai-p-pēyar maruñkiy*  
*Oṇṇiya nakara-micai nakaramoṭu mutalum*. (Ibid. 67.)
3. *Neṇṇelut t-imṇarun tōṇarmoḷi y-ṇṇṇum*  
*Kurriya t-ukaram talḷē rūrūtā*. (Ibid. 36.)
4. *Cārntu-vuri y-aḷlatu tamakk-iyai p-ḷa-v-eyat*  
*Tērntu-velip paṭutta v-ḷṇai mūṇṇum*  
*Tattañ cūrpīy piṇappoṭu civaṇi*  
*Oḷta kūṇciyūṇ ṇam-m-iyai p-iyalum*. (Ibid. 101.)

voiceless consonants and later on taken as a secondary sound? If it were the former, it need not play in sandhi a part different from *u*. I have already stated that it (*ü*) is dropped if it is followed by a word commencing with a vowel, while *u* takes the intervocalic *v* when it is followed by a vowel, cf. *nākkü + iñkē = nākküñkē*; *atu + iñkē = atuvēñkē*. Hence the latter view that it was in the parent Dravidian a vowel glide is worth considering. If that be so, we have to assume that the Tamil grammarians happened to recognise the glide, take it as a secondary sound and conclude that no voiceless consonant could be the final member of any word.<sup>1</sup>

1.3482. *UYIR-AḶAPEṬAI*: 1.34821. The authors of *Viracōliyam*, *Nēminātam*, *Naṇṇūl*, *Ilakkāṇa-viḷakkam* and *Pirayōka-vivēkam* state that the seven sounds, *āa*, *īi*, *ūu*, *ēe*, *aii*, *ōo*, *auu* are *uyir-aḷapeṭai* each having three *mātrās* and have taken them as secondary vowels.

But *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has not mentioned them under secondary sounds; for it seems to me that in cases of *aḷapeṭai*, *āa*, *īi*, etc. are not *single* sounds according to him, but two sounds made up of *ā* and *a*, *ī* and *i*, etc. This is clear from the following points mentioned by him. He states in the *sūtra*

*Mū-v-aḷa p-icaitta l-ōr-clūt t-iyē*. (Tol. E. 5.)

that there is no *single* sound having *three mātrās*; in the *sūtra*

*Nāṭṭam vēṇṭi v-a-v-aḷa p-uḷaiya*

*Kūṭṭi v-clūnta l-eymanār pūṇavar*. (ibid. 6.)

he says that, if the quantity of a sound is to be lengthened, separate sounds having the desired additional quantity should be added. In the *sūtra*

*Kuṇṭṭicai moli-vayī v-kuṇṭṭicai nīṇaikkum*

*Neṭṭeḷut t-iṇṇa v-otta-kur reḷuttē*. (ibid. 41.)

1. Here it is worth noting that the vowel-glide *i* between *d* & *r* in the Sanskrit word *Indra* has appeared as a separate letter in the word *Indira* derived from the same. Similarly, the second *a* in the word *manōratha* which originally was *manōrtha*. (Wackernagel's *Altindisch Grammatik*.)

it is said that as many short like-vowels are added after a long vowel as the additional *mātrās* needed. In the sūtra

*E-eyā varṇam-nyar meyyi ṛ-ākātā,* (ibid. 71.)

it is said that *e* cannot be the final letter of a word if it is preceded by a consonant and in the sūtra

*Ekara v-akarām payarkkī ṛ-ākā*

*Muṇṇilai moliya v-eymayār palavar*

*Tēṛṛamūñ ciraṇṇu m-alvāli y-āya,* (ibid. 273.)

it is said that it follows *ē* denoting certainty or superiority. Hence in *ēu koṇṭāy*, *e* is taken to be a sound separate from *ē*. In the sūtra

*Tēṛṛa v-ekarammūñ ciraṇṇi ṇ-avṇam*

*Mēy-kū ṛ-iyarkai valileṭṭu mihunē,* (ibid. 274.)

he says 'tēṛṛa v-ekarammūñ' which clearly shows that *ē* and *e* in *ēe* are considered separate sounds. In the sūtra

*Ē-y-e ṛ-iyali-k k-ekarām varṇmē,* (ibid. 278.)

he says that *e* will follow *ē*. That the same is the case with *o* in *ōo* is inferred from the sūtras Tol. E. 273 and

*Vēṛṇmai-k kaṇṇu v-alayō v-ayrē*

*Okaram varuṭa l-ō-vayī y-āya,* (ibid. 293.)

In the sūtra

*Kuṇṇiyalay muṇṇaru m-ōreṭṭu molikkum*

*Aṇiya-l tōṇṇu m-akara-k kiṭavi,* (ibid. 227.)

it is said that *a* is inserted after *ō*, the final member of the standing word, if it is preceded by a short vowel as *palā-a-k-kōṭū* or if it happens to be a single lettered word.<sup>1</sup> In the sūtra,

*Aḷapeṭai miḷḷu m-ikara-v-iṇṇeyar*

*Iyarkaiya v-ākūñ-ceyarkaiya v-eṇṇa.*

(Tol. Col. 125.)

he says that the word ending in *i* which generally appears with *aḷapeṭai* in the nominative case remains as it is without any change in the vocative case. For instance, the word

1. It may be noted that the author of *Pirayōka vivēkam* says that in *marāṭai*, *paṇḍāṭai*, *a* is separate from *ā* and an intervocalic is not inserted between them. (P. V. P. 49.)

*taḍi* can be used in the same form as nominative or vocative. Here he states that the final member of such words is *i* and not *ī*. Besides in Ceyyul-iyal, a section in the third chapter of Tolkāppiyam, he says that *aḷapeṭai* may be taken as a separate syllable in prosody<sup>1</sup>. For example in *paṇṇiyār tēṁ* (Pattu. 220, 230) *tē* is taken as one *acai* and *ēṁ* as another, though *e* is added to prolong the quantity of *ē*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in *kaṭṭak kaḷṇṇuṇṇi* (K. 1087) *kaṭṭ* is taken as one *acai* and *ak* as another.<sup>3</sup>

The reason why he does not treat *āa*, *īi*, etc. in cases of *aḷapeṭai* as single sounds seems to me this. In Manusmṛti there is a line

*Ākāraśāsyā mānuntē vācyah pūrvākṣarah plutaḥ*  
(M. S. 2. 125.)

in connection with the use of *pluta* in *pratyabhi-vādana*. This is interpreted by some commentators that *a* is only *apalakṣaṇam* here and it means that the final syllable of the name of the person who prostrates himself before another should be *pluta* in the blessings offered by the latter, in the same way as is said by Pāṇini; (i.e.) if Dēvadatta is a *dvija* and prostrates himself before another, another should say 'Āyusmān bhava Devadattaḥ'; if he is *Hari*, 'Āyusmān bhava Hareḥ' etc. But Haradatta, the author of Pādamāñjarī, a commentary on Kāśikāvṛtti, interprets the same line in a different way. The final syllable should be *pluta* and an 'a' should be added to it at the end. Hence the *pratyabhi-vādana* should be in the form 'Āyusmān bhava Devadattaḥ a.' Similarly if two persons *Śambhu* and *Pinākapāyī* are at a distance and they are called, the forms that should be used in the vocative case are *Śambhaḥ* and *Pinākapāyēḥ* in the opinion of Pāṇini and *Śambhaḥ a*, and *Pinākapāyēḥ a*, in the opinion of Haradatta. Similarly if they are not at a distance, the forms that should be used are *Śambhaḥ u* and *Pinākapāyāḥ i* according to Pāṇini, and *Śambhaḥ va* and *Pinākapāyāḥ ya* according to Haradatta<sup>4</sup>.

1. *Aḷapeṭai-ṇacai-nilai-ṇūkalu-m-uvitē*. (Tol. Ceyy. 17.)

2 & 3. These are cases of hiatus allowed by Tolkāppiyagūṇ.

4. Pandit Reprint 12. Kāśikā vyākhyā uttarārdha p. 960 and P. A. 8. 2. 83, 8. 2. 84 and 8. 3. 107.

The latter says that his interpretation is based on what is said in Bharataśāstra.<sup>1</sup>

From this it is evident that there were two schools as regards the use of *pluta*. Tolkāppiyāṇār having in his mind the view of the author of Bharataśāstra may have thought that, since a separate syllable *a* is used by him in all places, there is no need for the previous sound to be *pluta*, and hence may have said that there is no need for a sound *aḥ* having three *mātrās* before the final *a*. Besides to have *a* even after *iḥ*, *eḥ*, *oḥ* may not have appealed to him. Hence he may have thought that, if one wants to use similar sounds, one might as well use *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ* and *ṝ* with *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* following them. This is most probably the reason for his saying that there is no single sound having three *mātrās* (Tol. E. 5). Hence, according to him, *aḥ* *aḥ* *aḥ* is that sound *a*, *i*, *u*, etc. which is super-added to the preceding long vowel *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, etc. It may be worth noting that the term *aḥ* *aḥ* *aḥ* is adapted from the term *pluta* though in a somewhat different sense.

But the author of *Viracōḷiyam* in the light of what is said in Pāṇini's grammar may have mistaken *aḥ* *aḥ* *aḥ* for *pluta* in Sanskrit and hence has stated that *āḥ*, *īḥ*, etc. are *aḥ* *aḥ* *aḥ* and the others may have followed him. They have taken them as secondary sounds, since according to them secondary sounds are those which are other than primary sounds and no primary sound has more than two *mātrās* for its quantity. If *aḥ* *aḥ* *aḥ*, according to them, has three *mātrās*, they should have given separate names for *āḥ*, *āḥ* *āḥ* and so on. But they have not done so. Perhaps they too may be called *aḥ* *aḥ* *aḥ* in the same way as a sound of four *mātrās* in Sanskrit is called *pluta*<sup>2</sup>. The authors of *Nēminātam*, *Naṇṇūl*, *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam* and *Tonnūl-viḷakkam* have followed the author of *Viracōḷiyam* in toto in this point; but the authors of *Naṇṇūl* and *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam*, when they make mention of the vowels that can stand finally in words,

1. I searched for this statement in the extant editions of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, but I was not able to find it out.

2. *Iṣṭa āva catur mātrah plutaḥ* (M. B. iii. 421, 13 & 14).

say that the short vowels can stand finally even when they are part of *aḥapeṭai*.<sup>1</sup> This is not consistent with their statement that *aḥapeṭai* has three *mātrās*. Hence it seems to me that they two did not have a decisive idea about it.

Urayācārīyar and Naccinārkkīṇiyar in commenting on the sūtra

NH<sub>4</sub>NO<sub>3</sub> 75000 g-a-l-u-a-l-a-p a-l-a-i-yai

*Kūṭṭi-y-eḷūnta l-cunandār pulavar*, (Tol. E. 6.)

say that the long and the short vowel should be pronounced together. Hence it appears that, in their opinion, *āa*, *īi*, etc., are pronounced as vowels having three *mātrās*, but for grammatical purposes they are separate sounds. Civañāga-muṇivar, on the other hand, says that *aḷaḷetai* *ḷuttū* has three *mātrās*<sup>2</sup> and it is made up of one long vowel and one short vowel and since it is used in the place of the long vowel only for lengthening its *mātrā* without any change in meaning, it is not included as a separate sound, and hence it is not included among vowels.<sup>3</sup> On considering the sūtras in Tolkāppiyam mentioned above, it may be clear that Civañāga-muṇivar confounds the *ḷuta* in Sanskrit with *aḷaḷetai*. But in the definition of *cārpeḷuttū* or secondary sounds he agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār and hence he has not included *aḷaḷetai* among them.

The number of *nyir-aṭapaṭai* is 7 according to the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods except Nannūlar. He says that they are 21 taking into consideration the place in a word where it occurs, whether at the beginning, middle or end. But since the sound is generally the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end, it does not appear to be scientific to further sub-divide 7 and make them into 21.

1. *Kurmyi x-nap'i y-irā m-charam*

ආප්ත වූ විවිධ දත්ත සමස්තයක් ලෙස පෙන්වා දෙන

*Kakara vakaravāṇi tūka m-ava.* (Na. 108 & I. V, 29.)

2. *Māṭṛu māṭṭiraiyūy mawikkukāi aḷaṭṭai yeḷuttuṭṭum*  
(T. M. V. p. 24.)

3. *Alapetai annetteluttō*(n... (p. 24, Line 3.) *κηρηρυγῶν ἀνδρῶν* *narkā* (T. M. V, p. 24).



1.3483.—‘Shortened *ai*’: *Ancient Period*. Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions that ‘*ai*’ has in certain positions only one *mātrā*,<sup>1</sup> but does not say where it so happens, nor does he include such ‘*ai*’ among secondary sounds, since it has the same place of articulation as ‘*ai*’ though reduced in quantity, and it may sometimes be used as the initial letter of a word as *aiyam* and hence does not satisfy this definition of *cārpeḷuttū* or secondary sounds.

*Medieval and Modern Periods*. The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* says that the shortened *ai*, has for its quantity one *mātrā* and a half. The author of *Nēminātam* agrees with him and includes it among secondary sounds. The authors of *Naṇṇūḷ*, *Ilakkapa-viḷakkam* and *Tonṇūḷ-viḷakkam* say that it has only one *mātrā* for its quantity. C. J. Beschi says that it is shortened in such words as *aippaci* where it is the initial letter, in words like *maḷaiyaṇ* where it is medial and in words like *kuraḷai* where it is final. All of them include it among secondary sounds since it is other than ‘*ai*’ having two *mātrās* and hence satisfies their definition of *cārpeḷuttū*. The division by Naṇṇūḷār of ‘shortened *ai*’ into three according to its place in a word is unnecessary and unscientific. Cīvaṇāṇa-muṇivar agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār.

Since no purpose is served by taking ‘shortened *ai*’ as a secondary sound, the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to me to be the sound one.

1.3484, ‘Shortened *au*’: *Ancient Period*: Tolkāppiyāṇār does not speak definitely about this; but the commentators on the *sūtra*

*Ōr-aḷa p-āku m-iṭay-uṇ-ā v-uṇṇē*

*Tēruṇ kālai mōḷi-vayī ū-āṇa.* (Tol. E. 57.)

say that what holds good for ‘*ai*’ holds good for ‘*au*’ also.

*Medieval and Modern Periods*: The ‘shortened *au*’ is considered in the same way, as ‘shortened *ai*.’ *Vīracōḷiyam* says that it has one and a half *mātrās* while the rest, one *mātrā*.

1. *Ōr-aḷa p-āku m-iṭay-uṇ-ā v-uṇṇē*

*Tēruṇ kālai mōḷi-vayī ū-āṇa.* (Tol. E. 57.)

Whatever is said of 'ai' holds good of 'au' also. C. J. Beschi says that *au* is shortened to *au̇* only when it stands initially. Dr. Caldwell does not make mention of the shortened *au*.

1.35. *Vowel Gradation.* This plays only a very small part in Tamil. In the declension of pronouns like *nī*, *nāw*, *tāy*, the *ī* and the *ā* are shortened in the oblique cases as *nippai*, *nippāl*, etc., *nammai*, *nammāl*, etc., *tappai*, *tappāl*, etc., and *yā* in the pronoun *yāy* is shortened to *e* in the oblique cases as *eyyai*, *eyyāl*, etc. But on the whole its part in the Tamil language is very small since the cases and the conjugation in Tamil are not classified as strong and weak, except that the nominative case may be considered strong and the remaining weak.

In some of the verbal forms of monosyllabic roots having *ā*, *ā* is shortened to *a*.

Root.	Present Tense.	Past Tense.	Future.	Past Relative Participle.
<i>tā</i>	<i>tarukīrāy</i>	<i>tantāy</i>	<i>taruvāy</i>	<i>tantu</i>
<i>kāy</i>	<i>kāyukīrāy</i>	<i>kaṇṭāy</i>	<i>kāyuvāy</i>	<i>kaṇṭa</i>
<i>cā</i>	<i>cāyukīrāy</i>	<i>ceṭtāy</i>	<i>cāvuvāy</i>	<i>ceṭta</i>

Sometimes the negative forms of verbs have long vowels, while the positive forms short ones.

Root.	Affirmative.	Negative.
<i>kāy</i>	<i>kaṇṭāy</i>	<i>kāyāy</i>
<i>vā</i>	<i>varuvāy</i>	<i>vārdāy</i>
<i>tā</i>	<i>taruvāy</i>	<i>tārāy</i>

In forming nouns from certain verbs, the short vowels are lengthened.

Root.	Noun.
<i>nīṭu</i>	<i>nīṭū</i>
<i>keṭu</i>	<i>kēṭū</i>
<i>paṭu</i>	<i>pāṭū</i>
<i>mīṭu</i>	<i>mīṭū</i>
<i>cuṭu</i>	<i>cūṭū</i>

This is one of the most important points where Tamil differs from Indo-European languages in general and Sanskrit in particular where gradation plays a very prominent part.

1.36. *Initial and final vowels in words in Tamil and in Sanskrit ; Their Similarities and Dissimilarities:* Tolkāppiyāṇār says that all the 12 primary vowels can stand both as the initial and the final member of words, but the final *au* can be preceded only by *k* or *v*, the final *e* cannot be preceded by any consonant, the final *o* by any consonant except *n*, the final *ē* and *ō* by *ā* and *u* and *ū* by *n* or *ṇ*.<sup>1</sup> Of the secondary vowels *ī* cannot stand at the beginning, while shortened *i* can stand neither at the beginning nor at the end. The author of Viracōḷiyam differs from Tolkāppiyāṇār in the fact that *e* and *o* cannot stand as final members. This is possibly due to the fact that, according to the latter, *e* in *ēe* (a particle denoting certainty) is not a part of it in the same way as is taken by the former and the word 'no' might have become obsolete in his time<sup>2</sup>.

But Nannūlār and other grammarians agree with Tolkāppiyāṇār in this respect.<sup>3</sup> According to them *aḷaḷṭai* and 'shortened *ai*' can stand both at the beginning and at the end, 'shortened *au*' only at the beginning, *ū* cannot stand at the beginning and *i* cannot stand either at the beginning or at the end.

1. *Peyyē v-ayira mōḷi-muta t-āḷum.* (Ibid. 59.)  
*Uyir-ai v-eñciya v-iṇṇi y-āḷum.* (Ibid. 69.)  
*Ka-va-v-ō ṭiṇṇi n-ai-v-a m-āḷum.* (Ibid. 70.)  
*E-ṇa varum-uyir me-y-yā t-āḷū.* (Ibid. 71.)  
*O-v-a m-ayyē na-v-v-aḷaḷ k-aiyē.* (Ibid. 72.)  
*Ē ṭ eṇṇu-uyir ṇakṭra-t-tillai.* (Ibid. 73.)  
*Ū ū k-āra au-va-v-aṇṇa n-āḷū.* (Ibid. 74.)
2. *Īṇu-makara ṇakaraṇk-āṇu m-iṭai-y-iṇṇi*  
*Ērum-ṇakara m-aḷintaintum-āraṇ t-ēḷi-uyirum*  
*Viṇṇu-mali-v-āḷ k-aiyē-kumari-k-k-ai m-ēṇṇu*  
*Kūṇṇu-mali-y-āḷ k-iṇṇi-ṇṇu-m-ayyē k-ōḷi-ṇṇi-yē.* (V. C. 8.)
3. *Āvi ā-a-ṇa-na-ṇa-na ya-ra-l-ā-va la-ḷa-mey*  
*Cāṇu m-akara m-ūl-ūṇu m-iṇṇi.* (Na. 107).

The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya, the Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya and Atharva-vēda Prātiśākhya say that *i* (᳚) cannot stand as final.<sup>1</sup> The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya adds *ṛ* also in the 1st verse of the 12th chapter.<sup>2</sup> The Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya adds that *ṛ* can stand as final only in the first members of compounds.<sup>3</sup> It seems to me that in mentioning the initial and the final vowels in words, Tolkāppiyāṇār has followed the Prātiśākhyas since Pāṇini considered it unnecessary to mention them.



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1. *Nākhūrah svarīṣu.* (R. V. P. 1. 9.)  
*Svarāśca khūrahvarjam.* (S. Y. V. P. 1. 87.)  
*Ankhūrah svarah padyah.* (A. V. P. 1. 4.)
  2. *Nāntam yānti. . . .* (*khūrahkhūṇu.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)
  3. *Nākhūrahkhūrahvagrahē.* (S. Y. V. P. 1. 88.)

## 1.4. CONSONANTS : 1.41. CLASSIFICATION.

1.411. *Ancient Period* :—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that there are eighteen consonants from *k* to *ṇ* which may be classified as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

		Voiceless	Voiced	
Plosives :	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	Nasal also.
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	
	Cerebral		<i>ṇ</i>	
	Alveolar	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	
	Dental	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	
Semi-vowels	Palatal	<i>y</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>r</i> & <i>ḷ</i>		
	Dental	<i>l</i>		
	Labio-dental	<i>v</i>		
Fricatives <sup>2</sup>	Cerebral	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	

Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies consonants as *paṭṭiṇam*, *melliṇam* and *iṭaiyiṇam*. This must have been done with reference to the *muyarci* (*prayatna*) or effect. *K*, *c*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p* and *ṣ* are mentioned as *valliṇam*<sup>3</sup>, *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* as *melliṇam*<sup>4</sup> and *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*

1. The parallelism between

*Ṇakara-v-iṇṇāy-p paṭṭiṇamēḷuttumoyyēṇa moliṇa*. (Tol. E. 9.)  
and

*Hakārāntāṇi kūḍiṇi ṇṇāṇṇāṇi vidar buḍḍāḷ*. (B.N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of Nāṭyaśāstra is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

2. In Tamil grammar *ṣ* and *ḷ* are not separately classified as fricatives, but from their pronunciation, I have mentioned them as such for the sake of clearness.

3. *Vallēḷut t-ṇṇa ka-ca-ṇa ta-pa-ṇa*. (Tol. E. 19.)

4. *Melliḷut t-ṇṇa ṇa-ñā-ṇa na-ma-ṇa*. (ibid. 20.)

and *l* as *iṭaiyinau*<sup>1</sup>. He does not mention the distinction between the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* and the fricative *ḷ*, nor takes *ṛ* as a fricative. The word *iṭaiyinau* appears to me to be the translation of the Sanskrit *outakṣtha*.

He also states the place of articulation for the different consonants :—*k* and *ṅ* are produced by the contact of the root of the tongue with the root of the hard palate<sup>2</sup>, *c* and *ñ* by that of the middle part of the tongue with the middle part of the hard palate,<sup>3</sup> *ṭ* and *ṣ* by that of the tip of the tongue with the front of the hard palate<sup>4</sup> &<sup>5</sup>, *t* and *n* by the extended tip of the tongue completely touching the upper gums<sup>6</sup>, *ṛ* and *ṣ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate<sup>7</sup>, *r* and *ḷ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently press against the hard palate<sup>8</sup>, *l* and *ḷ* by the extended tip of the tongue respectively touching the upper gums and pressing against them<sup>9</sup>, *p* and *m* by joining the lips<sup>10</sup>

1. *ṭai-y-clut t-ṇpa y-ṇ-ṇa ṇa-ḷa-ḷa*. (ibid. 21.)

2. *Kakūra kakūra mutanṇā v-ṇṇam*. (ibid. 89.)

3. *Cakūra kakūra v-iṭainā v-ṇṇam*. (ibid. 90.)

4. *Takūra kakūra nuṇi-nā v-ṇṇam*. (ibid. 91.)

5. Here it is to be noted that *ṛ* and *ṣ* as defined here are not *now* pronounced in the same way, but are pronounced as cerebrals; but the old pronunciation is generally preserved in Malayūḷam.

6. *Aṇṇa nuṇṇiya paṇ-mutan maruṇkiṇ*  
*Nā-nuṇi parantu me-y-ṇa v-ṇṇa-t*  
*Tām iṇiṭṭi piṇakkum takūra kakūram*. (Tol. E. 93.)

7. *Aṇari nuṇi-nā v-ṇṇa m-ṇṇa*  
*Rakūḷa kakūḷa v-ṇṇaṇṇum piṇakkum*. (ibid. 94.)

8. *Nuṇi-nā v-ṇṇa v-ṇṇam v-ṇṇa*  
*Rakūra kakūra m-ṇṇaṇṇum piṇakkum*. (ibid. 95.)

9. *Nā-viṇṇṇu viṇṇu v-ṇṇa mutal-ṇa*  
*Āvvi v-ṇṇa m-ṇṇaṇṇum v-ṇṇaṇṇum*  
*Lakūra kakūram-a v-ṇṇaṇṇum piṇakkum*. (ibid. 96.)

10. *ṭai-iyaintu piṇakkum kakūra kakūram*. (ibid. 97.)

v by bringing the upper teeth against the lower lip<sup>1</sup>, y by allowing the air which passes through the neck to pass very close to the hard palate<sup>2</sup>. And the *mellipam* letters have, in addition to their places of articulation noted above, the nose also<sup>3</sup>.

The difference between ṇ and ɳ is that the former is produced at the front of the palate with the tip of the tongue facing backwards and that the latter is produced behind it with the tip of the tongue facing forwards.

Here it is worth noting that the place of articulation for the gutturals, palatals, dentals, labials and v as mentioned by Tolkāppiyar closely agree with those mentioned in Tāttiriya Prātiśākhya and to a large extent with those in other Prātiśākhyas. Cf.

*Kukāra ākāra mitaṇā v-aṇṇam* (Tol. E. 86) with  
*Hamumūlē jihvāmūlēna kavargē sparśayati* (Tāi. P. ii, 35) ;

*Cakāra ākāra miṭai-nā v-aṇṇam* (Tol. E. 20) with  
*Tālāu jihvāmādhyēna cavargē* (Tāi. P. ii, 36) ;  
*Tālāsthānā madhyēna* (S. Y. V. P. i, 79) and  
*Tālasyānām madhya-jihvam* (A. V. P. i, 21) ;

*Aṇṇam naṇṇiya ... nā-mṇi parantu ... takāra nakāram*  
(Tol. E. 93) with

*Jihvāgrēna tavargē dantamūlēṣu* (Tāi. P. ii, 38) and  
*Dantyaṇām jihvāgram prastirṇam*<sup>4</sup> (A. V. P. i, 24,) ;

*Itai-iyaintu piṇakkum pakāra makāram* (Tol. E. 97) with  
*Oṣṭhābhyām pavargē* (Tāi. P. ii, 39.) ;

1. *Pai-t-ita i-iyaiya vakāram piṇakkum.* (ibid. 98.)

2. *Aṇṇāṇ cēnta miṭayreṇa vaḷi-y-icai*  
*Kaṇṇuṇ vaṇṇiya yakāram piṇakkum.* (ibid. 99.)

3. *Melleḷut t-āṇṇum piṇaṇṇi v-āḷḷkaṇ*  
*Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiyā v-āyiyu*  
*Mūḷḷiṇ vaḷi-y-icai yāṇṇuṇ-t t-āṇṇum.* (ibid. 100.)

4. The word *prastirṇam* in A. V. P. and the word *parantu* in Tolkāppiyam convey exactly the same meaning.



*Pal-l-italiyaiya vakaram piṇakkum* (Tol. E. 97) with

*Oṭṭhāntābbyānu dantaiṇ vakārē* (Tai. P. ii. 43.).

1.412. *Medieval period* :—In the medieval period the same is said about the classification and production of consonants with this difference :—Nannūlār states that *p* and *m* are produced by the upper lip pressing upon the lower lip<sup>1</sup> and *y* is produced by allowing the root of the tongue to press upon the root of the hard palate<sup>2</sup>. Practically, there is no difference between Nannūl and Toikāppiyam as regards the first point and there is slight difference as regards the second point.

1.413. *Modern period* : 14131. The author of the *Ilakkaṇaviṇṇakam* agrees with Nannūlār as regards the place of production of *p* and *m* and agrees with Toikāppiyāṇār as regards that of *y*.<sup>3</sup>

1.4132. <sup>4</sup>		Voiceless.	Voiced.	
			Non-nasal.	Nasal.
Plosives.	Gutlural	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ñ</i>
	Cerebral	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ṇ<sup>5</sup>, ṇ<sup>6</sup></i>
	Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>

1. *Mikī l-italiṇṇaṇ pa-m-ma-p piṇakkum*. (Na. 81.)

2. *Aṭṭā vaṭiyāṇa muṭṭayal iṇṇum*. (ibid. 82.)

3. *Mikī l-italiṇṇ-a-p pakāra makāra m-iṇṇu m-aṇṇaṇ*  
*cēruṇa miṇṇēlu vaṭiyēsi kaṇṇuṇṇaṭiya yakāramum*. (I. V. 12.)

4. This refers to the consonant sounds found in certain dialects, if I may so call them spoken in the districts of Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, etc.

5. 'ṇ' is now pronounced by rounding the tip of the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate. Hence at present *ṭ* and *ṇ* are cerebrals and not alveolars.

6. 'ṇ' is classed as cerebral though, when pronouncing it, the tip of the tongue is raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate which is in front of the roof.

Semi-vowels.	{ Palatal		y
	{ Cerebral		r, l
	{ Dental		l
	{ Labio-dental		v
Fricatives.	{ Palatal	ʃ	
	{ Dental	s	
	{ Cerebral	r & ʃ	l
Aspirate.		h	

All the sounds noted here are not found in certain dialects. For instance, in the dialect spoken in Tinnevely it is said by the residents there that the sounds *ʃ* and *j* are not generally found ; in the dialect spoken in Madras the aspirate *h* is not generally found ; in the dialect spoken at Jaffna it is said that most of the sounds *g*, *j*, *ʃ*, *d*, *b*, *s* and *h* are not found. Though new sounds have crept into the language, new symbols for them have not been introduced except for *j*, *ʃ* (in very few cases in Vaiṣṇavaite works) *g*, *s* and *h*. But Dr. Caldwell thinks that all these sounds have been in existence in the Tamil Language from the earliest time since he says that 'the Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another ... is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning'. Whether his view is correct or wrong will be discussed in 1.44, *infra*.

1.42. *A point to be noted about Valliṇam, Melligam and Itaiyiyam* :—Iḥampūrāṇar states in his commentary under the sūtra—

*Mellēḷal l-ārum piṇṇṇi n-ākkam*

*Colliya paḷḷi nīlaiyiyā v-āyiyam*

*Mūkkim vaḷi-y-icai yāḥṇṇa-l lōṇṇam* (Tol. E. 100)

noted above that the six *mel-l-ēḷuttū* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the nose, though they are produced in the places noted above ; since the word 'yāḥṇṇa' is used, it is to be noted that *itai-y-ēḷuttū* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the neck or gullet and *val-l-ēḷuttū* by the air passing through the head<sup>1</sup>. Here it deserves to be noted that

1. *Itai-y-ēḷuttūy-kū mēṇṇēṇ-vaḷiyam, val-l-ēḷuttūy-kū talai-vaḷiyam koḷka.* (Tol. E. 100, Iḥam.)

Tolkāppiyāṇār has mentioned in the sūtra that nose also is the place of production in addition to that mentioned for the respective nasal possibly having before his mind the sūtras 'nāsikyāḥ nāsikāsthānāḥ' (Tai. P. ii, 49.) and *vargavaccāṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 51). How Ḥampūraṇar and the later grammarians have made a mistake has been fully dealt with in 1.1. *supra*.

1.43. Another point to be noted about *Ḥai-y-ḥam* :—In *Ḥakkaṇaviḷakkam*<sup>1</sup> and *Tolkāppiyu-mutarecātaira-viruttī*<sup>2</sup> it is said that *Ḥaiyiyam* is midway between *valliyam* or the voiceless consonants and the *velliyam* or the nasals in their nature. It is not clear how it is so. *Ḥai-y-ḥuttū* is simply the translation of the Sanskrit *antaḥstha* which means midway between vowel and *spārśa* or explosives, since, in pronouncing vowels most of which have *virṇta-prayātna*, air completely escapes and in pronouncing explosives which have *spṛṣṭa-prayātna*, there is complete contact between the tongue and the other organs of speech so that air is completely arrested in its passage, and in pronouncing *y, r, l, v*, which have *ḥai-sprṣṭa-prayātna*, there is only slight contact between the tongue and the vocal organs so that most of the air freely passes and in pronouncing *ś, ṣ, s*, which have *ḥai-virṇta-prayātna*, air is allowed to escape with friction. The difference between semi-vowels and fricatives lies only in the fact that there is less prevention in the former and greater prevention in the latter ; but both agree in the point, that in pronouncing them air does not completely escape as in the case of vowels, nor is it completely arrested in its passage as in the case of explosives. Hence the author of *Tolkāppiyam* has, in my opinion, included *y, r, l, v, ś* and *ṣ* under one category and called them *Ḥaiy-ḥuttū*. But it is surprising that the authors of *Ḥakkaṇaviḷakkam* and

1. *Melleḥuttaiyum valleḥuttaiyum nōkkaḥ tām ḥai-nikaravāy olittatāyum.* (I. V. 7, Coram.)

2. *Valleḥuttukkaḥ manḥum av-v-averṇir-ḥamatta melleḥuttukkaḥ av-v-averṇir-piṇṇamūki valikkappaḥṭṭa. Av-v-iravṇa nōkki-y-ollatū ḥai-nikaravāy-olittat aṇṇu-p-paṭṭamaiyṇ utu-paṇṇi ḥaiy-ḥuttukkaḥ av-v-ir-ḥ-ḥṇṇir-kam-paṇṇaikkappaḥṭṭa.*

(T. M. V. p. 23.)

Tolkāppiya-mutar-cūttira-virutti who seem to have had considerable knowledge of Sanskrit have gone wrong in this point.

But Dr. Caldwell has rightly translated *iṭaiyeḷuttu* as semi-vowels.

1.44. *The Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants* :—This theory is explained by Dr. Caldwell in p. 138 as follows:—‘There are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all the Dravidian dialects but it is most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayālam. The law as apparent in the Tamil-Malayālam system of sounds is as follows :—*k, ṭ, ṭ, ṭ*, the first unaspirated consonants of the first, third, fourth and fifth vargas are always pronounced as tenues or surds (*i. e.*, as *k, ṭ, ṭ, ṭ*) at the beginning of words, and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i. e.*, as *g, ḍ, ḍ, ḍ*) when single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled; and so imperative is this law and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or *vice-versa* according to their position—*e. g.* *danṭa* (Skt. a *tooth*) becomes in Tamil, *ṭandam*; *bhāgya* (Skt. happiness) becomes in Tamil, *pāḷḷiyam*. This rule applies also to the case of compounds. The first consonant of the second word, though it was a surd when it stood independent, is regarded as a sonant when it becomes a medial letter in a compound word. This difference is marked in Telugu by a difference in character which is employed:—*e. g.* *annāḍamunḍu* (for *annatamunḍu*) elder and younger brother; *koṭṭabaḍu* (for *koṭṭapaḍu*), to be beaten; but in Tamil and generally in Malayālam, the difference appears in the pronunciation alone. This rule applies to all compounds in Telugu; but in Tamil, when the words stand in a case-relation to one another, or when the first is governed by the second, the initial surd of the second word is not softened, but doubled and hardened, in token of its activity:—*e. g.* instead of *koṭṭabaḍu*, to be beaten, it prefers to say *koṭṭa(ṭ)-paḍu*. In *dvandva* compounds Tamil agrees with Telugu.

‘A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of *ch* or *ĉ* (the Tamil *ś*) the first consonant of the second varga. When single, it is pronounced as a soft weak sibilant, with a sound midway between *ś*, *sh* and *ch*. This pronunciation is unchanged in the middle of words and in all cases in which the letter is single; but when it is doubled, it is pronounced exactly like *chch* or *ĉĉ*. The principle involved in this instance is the same as in the cases previously mentioned, but the operation of the rule is in some degree different. The difference consists in the pronunciation of this consonant in the beginning of a word, as well as in the middle as a sonant, i.e. as *ś*. By theory it should be pronounced as *ch* at the beginning of a word—and it is worthy of notice that it always receives this pronunciation at the beginning of a word in vulgar, colloquial Tamil; and in Malayālam and Telugu it is written as well as pronounced *ch*. A somewhat similar rule prevails with respect to rough *r* of the Tamil which is pronounced as *r* when single and like *tr* when doubled.

‘The Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another, as *f*, *t*, *p* in one position and as *g*, *d*, *b* in another is not a mere dialectic peculiarity, the gradual result of circumstances, or a modern refinement invented by grammarians, but is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning<sup>1</sup>.

‘The Tamil characters were borrowed, I conceive, from the earlier Sanskrit, and the language of the Tamilians was committed to writing on or soon after the arrival of the first colony of Brahmans, probably several centuries before the Christian Era. Yet even at that early period the Tamil alphabet was arranged in such a manner as to embody the peculiar Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants. The Tamil alphabet systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted

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1. The Rev. Dr. Pope and M. J. Vinson state the same theory with a slight modification, the former in page 7 of his *Tamil Hand Book* and the latter in page 65+ of *Journal Asiatique Dixieme serie Tome 18* 1911.

the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds. This circumstance clearly proves that *ab initio* the Dravidian phonetic system, as represented in Tamil, its most ancient exponent, differed essentially from that of Sanskrit.

Here we have to examine (1) whether this law holds good for *Tamil language* from the earliest times or in Dr. Caldwell's words whether it is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning; (2) whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in *Tamil*; (3) whether there was an *imperative law* that a sonant cannot commence a word, and that a surd is inadmissible in the middle of a word except when doubled; and (4) whether the *Tamil alphabet* systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds.

1. *Whether it is essentially inherent in the language*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār, the author of the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language, says in the first sūtra

*Eluttēya-p paṭupa*  
*Akara-mutal*  
*Nakara v-iṇuvāy muppāḥ t-eṇṇa*  
*Cārntu-varaṇ maraṇi māṇṇ-alaṇ kaṭaiyē* (Tol. E. 1.)

that there are thirty primary *eluttū* from *a* to *y* and three secondary *eluttū*, and in the second sūtra,

*Avaitāṁ*  
*Kuṇṇiya l-ikaram kuṇṇiya l-ukaram*  
*Āylam-eṇṇa*  
*Muppāṇ puḷḷiyu m-eluttū r-aṇṇa.* (Tol. E. 2.)

that the three secondary *eluttū* are *kuṇṇiyal-ikaram*, *kuṇṇiyal-ukaram* and *āylam* which are denoted in script with dots. Does the word *eluttū* here denote sound or symbol? It evidently means sound for the following reasons:—(a) In the third sūtra

*Avaṇṇu!*  
*A i u*

*Ēo eṇṇu m-appā l-aintum*

*Ōr-aḷa p-icaiḱḱuṇṇu kurreḷut t-eṇṇa.* (Tol. E. 3.)

he says ' of them *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* sound one mātrā and are called *kurreḷuttū*; in the fourth sūtra,

*Ā ī ū*

*Ē ai*

*Ōan eṇṇu m-appā l-āḷum*

*Īr-aḷa p-icaiḱḱu neḷḷeḷut t-eṇṇa.* (Tol. E. 4.)

the next seven *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *an* sound two mātrās and are called *neḷḷeḷuttū*; in the eighth,

*Aukāra v-iṇuvāy-p*

*Pannā r-eḷuttu m-uyir-eṇṇa molipā.* (Tol. E. 8.)

the twelve from *a* to *an* are called *uyir*; in the ninth,

*Nakāra v-iṇuvāy-p*

*Patineṇ ṇ-eḷuttu mey-y-eṇṇa molipā.* (Tol. E. 9.)

the last eighteen *eḷuttū* with *ṇ* at the end are called *mey*; in the tenth,

*Mey-y-ō ī-iyaiyīṇu m-uyir-iyā ririyā.* (Tol. E. 10.)

the nature of the vowel is not changed even when pronounced after a consonant; in the eleventh,

*Mey-y-i ṇ-aḷaṇṇē y-arai-y-eṇṇa molipā.* (Tol. E. 11.)

the quantity of a consonant is half a mātrā; in the nineteenth,

*Valleḷut t-eṇṇa ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ṭa.* (Tol. E. 19.)

*k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, *ṭ* are *valleḷuttū* or voiceless consonant; in the twentieth,

*Melleḷut t-eṇṇa ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa.* (Tol. E. 20.)

*ṇ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṇ* are *melleḷuttū* or nasals; and in the twentyfirst,

*Itai-y-eḷut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-la- va-ḷa-ḷa.* (Tol. E. 21.)

*y*, *r*, *i*, *v*, *ḷ*, *ḷ* are *itaiyeḷuttū* or semi-vowels. In all these sūtras, *eḷuttū* cannot but mean sound; for symbols cannot have quantity nor can they be classified as *val-l-iṇam*, *mel-l-iṇam* and *itai-y-iṇam*. Besides, in the whole *Nāṇmarappū*, the first section in *Eḷuttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam, he makes mention of words like *uvuvu* (form) and *iyarḱai* (nature) wherever he wants to denote symbols e.g. in the fifteenth sūtra,



*May-y-i y-iyarkai pulḷi-y-olū nilaiyal.* (Tol. E. 15.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of the consonant is to be indicated by dots; in the sixteenth sūtra,

*Ekara okara-t t-iyarkai-y-u m-arrē.* (Tol. E. 16.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of *e* and *o* is the same; he says in the 14th sūtra

*Uḷḷeru pulḷi y-uvvūḷ kum-m-ē.* (Tol. E. 14.)

that a dot within is its *uvvū* or form (of shortened *m*); the same is the case for vowel-consonants in the sūtra

*Pulḷi y-illā v-ellā meyyum*

*Uru-v-uru v-ūki y-akarama ḷ-uyirttalam*

*Ḽḷai y-uyirō t-urum-tirin t-uyirttalam*

*Ā-y-i r-iyala v-uyirtta t-ārē* (Tol. E. 17.).

If then *eluttū* denotes sound, could Tolkāppiyānār who is so careful as to note the difference in the quantity and the nature between *i* and *ī* (shortened *ī*), *u* and *ū* and who shows from his work especially the sections dealing with the classification and production of speech sounds intimate knowledge of Sanskrit Prātisākhya and Pāṇini's grammar where it is clearly stated that the voiced consonants are produced when the *kaṇṭha* is closed (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are very close to each other and voiceless when *kaṇṭha* is open (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are far away from each other (*cf.* Tai. P. ii, 4 & 5), have failed to denote the difference between the voiceless consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p* and voiced consonants *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b* and mentioned them as *vallīyam*? If the voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d*, and *b* were in existence then, could he have stated that the number of primary sounds was only thirty? Hence it is clear that at the time of Tolkāppiyānār the voiced consonant sounds did not exist in the Tamil Language. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement "this peculiarity is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning" cannot stand.

The author of Viracōliyam and its commentator say that in *aḍbhava* words the consonant *k* is substituted for the four

Sanskrit consonants  $k$ ,  $kh$ ,  $g$  and  $gh$ .<sup>1</sup> This would not have been the case if  $g$  had already existed. All other grammarians including the Rev. Beschi say that there are only thirty or thirty-one primary sounds.

But what Dr. Caldwell says is found in the *spoken* Tamil of the modern days. What might be the reason for this? Is it due to the general phonological principle that voiceless consonants are made voiced when they are found between vowels or preceded by nasals; or is it due to the fact that the Sanskrit words like *naga* and *vandana* were written in Tamil script as *nakam* (நகம்) and *vantanam* (வந்தனம்) but pronounced as *nagam* and *vandanam* as in Sanskrit and then the same letters ஂ and ஃ began to be pronounced under such conditions even in pure Tamil words as *g* and *d*, e. g. (அகம்) *agam* and (ஐந்தை) *tandai*? It does not seem to be reasonable to accept the former alternative, because even now in Jaffna, such voiceless consonants are pronounced as voiceless and not voiced. Hence it becomes necessary to accept the second alternative.

2. *Whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil:*—Since I have shown that voiced consonants were absent from Tamil language in the earliest times, it is evident that they were not developed in Tamil. (Even in Malayalam there is difference in pronunciation between *aṁka* and *aṅka* though 'h' in *aṁka* is slightly voiced.

3. *Whether there was an imperative law that a sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a sord admissible in the middle except when doubled:*—Since I have proved that the voiced consonants were absent from the early Tamil language, and since no grammarian from Tolkāppiyānār to Civañāṇa-muṇivar has stated

1. *Muntiya-parikkāṇkaḷa-sinfina-maṇṇa-onṇiṇa-mḍṇṇa-saṇḍḍam.*

(V. Taf. 6.)

[illegible]

this, it need not be discussed. But so far as the spoken Tamil of the modern days is concerned it holds good.

In this context it deserves to be mentioned that Dr. Caldwell and some modern scholars of Tamil seem to think that it is absolutely necessary to have the voiced consonants after the nasal of the same class<sup>1</sup> and the voiced consonant or spirant between vowels and it is difficult to pronounce them otherwise, i.e., *laṅkai*, *paṅcam*, *paṇṭam* and *vandāṅ* should be pronounced as *laṅgai*, *paṅjam*, *paṇḍam* and *vandāṅ* and *akam*, *icai*, *aṭai*, *atu*, *taṇu* as *akam* or *agam*, *iṭai*, *aḍai*, *adu* and *taṇu*. This view appears to be unsustainable. For, as Vendryes points out in his *Language*<sup>2</sup>, "Difficulty and ease of pronunciation are purely relative conception, doubtless quite definite to the speaker, but variable for each language. We cannot appreciate them without a thorough knowledge of the structure of the language. In fact the articulatory habits are at the root of the difficulty, so that a sound group which one people find difficult to pronounce may be quite easy for a neighbouring people."

The following table will show that there are examples in Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu where voiceless consonants are found after nasals and between vowels:—

Telugu.	Kanarese.	Malayalam.	Tulu.	Tamil.
(a) <i>iṅku</i>  <i>koṅki</i> <i>vaṅki</i> <i>kāṅke</i> <i>aṅce</i>	  <i>vaṅki</i> <i>kāke</i> <i>aṅce</i>	    <i>aṅcal</i>	    <i>aṅcal</i> <i>aṅci</i> (thither)	<i>iṅcu</i> (to dry up) <i>koṅki</i> (hook) <i>vaṅki</i> (armlet) <i>kāṅkai</i> (heat) <i>aṅcal</i> <i>aṅkē</i> (there)

1. D. C. G. p. 142.

2. Cf. p. 60—*Language* by Vendryes translated by Paul Radin, Ph. D.

Telugu.	Kanarese.	Malayalam.	Tulu.	Tamil.
<i>kaṇṭa</i> (seeing)	<i>uṇṭu</i> (there is)			<i>kaṇṭa</i> (having seen) <i>uṇṭū</i>
<i>enta</i> (how much)	<i>eṇṭu</i> (eight) <i>enta</i> (of what sort)			<i>eṇṭū</i> <i>enta</i> (what)
<i>impu</i>	<i>kantu</i> (to go down) <i>impu</i>			<i>kaṇṭū</i> (to be spoiled) <i>iṇṭū</i> (sweat-ness) <i>kāṇṭū</i> (stalk)
		<i>kāṇṭu</i>		
(b) <i>āṭa</i> <i>kāpu</i>	<i>āṭike</i> <i>kāpu</i>	<i>āṭika</i>	<i>kāpu</i>	<i>āṭṭam</i> (play) <i>kāṭṭū</i> (protection) <i>aṭukku</i>
<i>aṭuka</i> (loft in a house)	<i>iṭukku</i> (narrowness)			<i>iṭukku</i>
			<i>ikara</i> (here)	<i>iṅkē</i>

The initial *c* in *catti* is pronounced not as *ṣ* in Tulu, but as *c* itself.

This clearly shows that there need be no hard and fast rule that the consonants that follow nasals or that are between vowels should become voiced in the Dravidian languages. But, at the same time, examples like *kaṇṭu* (to sink) by the side of *kaṇṭu* (to sink) and *idu* (this) in Telugu, *āṇu* (to play) and *paṇu* (entirely) in Kanarese, *iṇu* (pledge) and *uṇṭu* (globe) in Tulu are found. This shows that there was a tendency in those languages to pronounce the voiceless consonants that followed nasals or that were between two vowels, as voiced. Since old Malayalam is almost Tamil, I have not given many examples from Malayalam here.

This change may have been due to the natural tendency of the people if we are able to find out such examples at a time when those languages were not influenced by Sanskrit. But, as far as we know at present, the earliest work in Telugu found out till now is said to be the Bhāratam by Nannaya which roughly belongs to the early part of the 11th century and the earliest inscription happens to be that of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana of the 6th century. The earliest work in Kanarese that has been found out till now is the Kavirājamārga written about the 9th century, and the earliest reliable inscription, it is believed, does not go earlier than 6th century A. D.

During the 7th century we have Tēvāraṁ and Nālāyirappirapantam which clearly show the great influence of Sanskrit on Tamil. Hence it is more probable for the change to have crept into Tamil through analogy with the sounds of the borrowed words in Tamil written in Tamil characters.

4. *Whether one character was sufficient to express both classes of sounds:*—Dr. Caldwell assumes that the Tamil alphabet was introduced after the advent of the Sanskritists, who found one character sufficient to express both classes of sounds. If that be so, why should they have invented new symbols to express voiced consonants *g, j, ḡ, ḍ* and *b* in Grantha script which they should have invented after the Tamils began to learn Sanskrit and in which almost all the symbols of the Tamil language, which, according to Gopinatha Rao, were adapted from Brāhmī script, were incorporated? Hence at the time when the Tamil script was newly invented, it did not have the voiced consonant sounds.

Therefore Dr. Caldwell's theory of Convertibility of Surds and Sonants can hold good only with reference to the spoken Tamil of the present day.

1.45. *C and J according to Dr. Caldwell:*—Dr. Caldwell says that the pronunciation of *c* is not *k* but *c* in the lowest colloquial dialect and it is probably the ancient pronunciation of this letter which is retained by the lower classes. Even the higher classes in Tinnevely pronounce it even now as *c* and reference to the

sūtras on *Nāṇmarapū* of Tolkāppiyam mentioned above can clearly explain that his conjecture that it was the ancient pronunciation is really true.

As regards 'j' Dr. Caldwell says that "it is not used in correct Tamil; the same sound is sometimes admitted in the use of those Sanskrit derivatives in which the letter 'j' is found in Sanskrit". But in the spoken dialects of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, etc., it is freely used in pure Tamil words. Thus *mañṇaḷ* is pronounced as *mañjaḷ*, *kañci* as *kañji*, etc.

1.46. *A point about the cerebral consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit*:—Dr. Caldwell says that 'Sanskrit has borrowed them from Dravidian languages for the following reasons:—(1) The lingual consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots. (2) None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit. (3) Those consonants which Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit within the period of existence of Dravidian literature have been greatly modified to accord with the Tamilian laws of sound and delicacy of ear. (4) Though Telugu has been more exposed to Sanskrit influence than Tamil, yet larger use is made of those sounds in Tamil than in Telugu'. (C. D. G. 148.)

Dr. Caldwell may be said to be right as regards his first two reasons. The third reason adduced by him seems to me not quite satisfactory; for Tamil evidently has to substitute some sounds for those of Sanskrit which are not found in it as *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*. The fourth is not after all a very strong reason. Besides, there are four other points that stand in the way of accepting his theory:—(1) The cerebral sounds in Sanskrit are produced by rounding the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate, while in Tamil they were produced by the tip of the tongue touching the front of the palate without its being rounded at the time of Tolkāppiyānār, though they are now pronounced exactly in the same way as in Sanskrit. If they had been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil, I do not know why the position of their articulation was changed. (2) Besides, they are found in *R̥gvēda*, the earliest

religious work in Sanskrit which is supposed to have been composed in the Indus Valley soon after the Aryans migrated there. (3) It has been enunciated by Fortunatov that *r*+dental remains unchanged, but in combination of *l* and a following dental, the *l* disappeared, and the dental was lingualised. Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck and other philologists except Brugman agree with his theory<sup>1</sup> and hence think that the cerebrals are a natural development. (4) Otto Jespersen too agrees with the same theory from another standpoint as is seen from his following statement: "According to a theory which is very widely accepted, the Dravidian languages exerted a different influence on the Aryan languages when the Aryans first set foot on Indian soil, in making them adopt the cacuminal (or inverted) sounds *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* with *ḍh, ṭh* which were not found in primitive Aryan. But even this theory does not seem to be quite proof against objections. It is easy to admit that natives accustomed to one place of articulation of their *d, t, n* will unconsciously produce the *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* of a new language they are learning in the same place; but then they will do it everywhere. Here, however, both Dravidian and Sanskrit possess pure dental *d, t, n* pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, besides cacuminal *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ*, in which it touches the gum or the front part of the hard palate. In Sanskrit we find that the cacuminal articulation occurs only under very definite conditions, chiefly under the influence of '*r*'. Now, a trilled tongue-point '*r*' in most languages, for purely physiological reasons which are easily accounted for, tends to be pronounced further back than ordinary dentals; and it is therefore quite natural that it should spontaneously exercise an influence on neighbouring dentals by drawing them back to its own point of articulation. This may have happened in India quite independently of the occurrence of the same sounds in other vernaculars<sup>2</sup>

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1. Sanskrit Phonetics (English Edition by Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck, section 44, p. 53).

2. It is worthy to be noted that it has already been mentioned that the Tamil *ṭ* and *ṇ* were not originally cacuminal but alveolar.

just as we find the same influence very pronouncedly in Swedish and in East Norwegian where *d*, *t*, *n*, *s* are cacuminal (supra-dental) in such words as *bord*, *kort*, *barn*, etc. According to Grandgent (*Naure Sprachen*, 2, 447) *d* in his own American English is pronounced further back than elsewhere before and after 'r' as in *dry*, *hard*; but in none of these cases need we conjure up an extinct native population to account for a perfectly natural development.<sup>1</sup>

From what has been mentioned above it may not be possible for us to accept the statement of M. J. Vinson that the cerebrals in the Aryan Languages of the north have been developed relatively at a recent date<sup>2</sup>.

1.47. *Secondary consonant*: 1.471. *Ancient period*: According to Tolkāppiyāṇār there is no secondary consonant.

1.472. *Medieval period*: The author of Viracōḷiyam does not mention any secondary consonant. The author of Nēminātam says that there are 16 secondary consonants consisting of 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 shortened nasals and shortened *y*, shortened *l*, shortened *v* and shortened *ḷ*. The author of Naṅṇūl says that there are 42 *arraḷaḷetai*<sup>3</sup> and three shortened *m*<sup>4</sup>, each of the former having one mātrā and each of the latter having  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mātrā<sup>5</sup>. Wherever two similar consonants come together for the sake of metre as the two 'l's in 'koll lēṇṇi

1. *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin* by Otto Jespersen, p. 196-7.

2. R cerebral En Dravidien, pp. 111 to 123. *Journal Asiatique*, Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, 1919.

3. *Nā-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa va-ya-la-la v-āytam*  
*Aḷaḷūṇ kuṇṇi-ṇai kuṇṇi-kā l-ṇai-katṇai*  
*Mikālā v-aṇṇiṇṇ kuṇṇi-y-ūm v-āṇṇ.* (Na. 92.)

4. *Nā-ṇa muṇṇ-ṇ-um vaḷḷkālṇ micai-yu-ma-k-kuṇṇum.* (ibid. 96.)

5. *Mūṇṇū-uyiḷaḷaḷū iraṇṇām neḷil oṇṇṇ*  
*Kuṇṇiḷū ai-aṇ-k kuṇṇukkam oṇṇaḷaḷū*  
*Arai oṇṇi-i v-k kuṇṇukkam āytam*  
*Kāl kuṇṇi māḷḷkālṇ āytam māttirai.* (ibid. 99.)



*maruṭṭuṭ pōṇṇaya* ' (they are like the horns of war-bulls) (P.N. 4, 4), he takes them as one secondary sound having one full mātrā. As regards the shortened *m*, as in *pōṇṇ* he divides it into three according to the consonant which precedes or follows it, which is not quite necessary. cf. 1.222 *supra*.

1.473. *Modern period*: The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* says that there are 11 *orṇalaṭṭai* and one *makara-k-kurukkam* and agrees with Nannūlar as regards their quantity. Civañāgamuṇi-var agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār.

Though Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions shortened *m* and says it has  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mātrā<sup>1</sup>, he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant since it does not satisfy his definition of *cārpeḷuttū*. Cf. 1.22, *supra*. *Orṇalaṭṭai* is only two similar consonants placed side by side for the sake of metre. Hence he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant. The opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to be sound.

1.48. *Initial, Final and Medial consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit words—Their Similarities and Dissimilarities*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, in Tamil, a conjunct consonant cannot stand at the beginning of a word<sup>2</sup>, *k*, *t*, *n*, *ṣ*, *m* can stand initially being followed by any vowel<sup>3</sup>, *c* except when followed by *a*, *ai* and *au*<sup>4</sup>, *v* except when followed by *n*, *ū*, *o* and *ō*<sup>5</sup>, *ṭ* when followed by *ā*, *e* and *o*<sup>6</sup> and *y* when followed only by

1. *Arai-yalaṭṭu kuṇṇuṇ makara m-uṭṭaiṭṭē*  
*Icaiy-iṭṭa ṇ-arukun teriyai kōlai*. (Tol. E. 13.)
2. *Uyir-mey y-allaṇa mōḷi-muta l-ākā*. (ibid. 60.)
3. *Ka-ta-na pa-ma-v-eṇu m-ū-v-aiṇ-t-eḷuttum*  
*Ellā v-uyirōṭṭāi cillumār mutaiṭṭē*. (ibid. 61.)
4. *Cakara-k kiḷaiyū m-avayyō e-ayṭē*  
*A-ai ou-v-eṇu mūṇṇalaṇ kaṭaiyē*. (ibid. 62.)
5. *Uṭ oḍ v-eṇṇu nāṇkayir*  
*Va eṇ ṇ-eḷuttōṭṭu varuta l-illai*. (ibid. 63.)
6. *Āc*  
*O-eṇu m-ū-v-uyir ākūrat t-urīya*. (ibid. 64.)



by  $k$ ,  $c$  and  $\bar{p}$ ;  $\bar{x}$  by  $k$ ,  $c$  and  $\bar{p}$ ;  $\bar{l}$  by  $k$ ,  $c$ ,  $\bar{p}$ ,  $y$  and  $v$ ;  $\bar{f}$  by  $k$ ,  $c$ ,  $\bar{p}$ ,  $y$  and  $v$ ;  $\bar{n}$  by  $k$ ;  $\bar{n}$  by  $c$  and  $y$ ;  $\bar{u}$  by  $\bar{l}$ ,  $k$ ,  $c$ ,  $\bar{n}$ ,  $\bar{p}$ ,  $m$ ,  $y$  and  $v$ ;  $\bar{u}$  by  $\bar{l}$  and  $y$ ;  $\bar{m}$  by  $\bar{p}$ ,  $y$  and  $v$ ;  $\bar{u}$  by  $\bar{l}$ ,  $k$ ,  $c$ ,  $\bar{n}$ ,  $\bar{p}$ ,  $m$ ,  $y$  and  $v$ ;  $\bar{v}$  by  $y$ ;  $\bar{y}$ ,  $r$ , and  $\bar{l}$  by  $k$ ,  $c$ ,  $\bar{l}$ ,  $u$ ,  $\bar{p}$ ,  $m$ ,  $v$ ,  $\bar{n}$ ,  $y$  and  $\bar{n}^1$ .

Here it may be noted that Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya similarly gives a list showing the sounds in Sanskrit that can respectively stand as the initial and final members of single words and also those consonants which can follow other consonants:—The second and fourth of each varga, semi-vowels, fricatives except *visarga* and aspirate and the second varga do not stand as the final members of words<sup>2</sup>. The Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya allows *l* also as the final<sup>3</sup>. When we compare this with the final sounds at the end of words in Tamil, we see that, of the sounds common to both the tongues Tamil allows *ṛ, y, r, l, z* and *ḷ* as finals, while Sanskrit does not and that Sanskrit allows *k, ṅ, ṭ, ṭ* and *p* which Tamil does not.

Similarly the Rgveda Prātisākhya says that *jīkṛmāṇīya*, *upadhonāṇīya*, *visarga*, *anusvāra* *jh*,<sup>4</sup> *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *n* cannot

1. *Ya-ra-la-ṣa v-ṣṣum puḷli munṇar-k*  
*Ka-ca-pa v-ṣṣu mū-v-ṣat t-urīya.* (ibid. 23.)  
*Aṇṇuḷ*  
*La-ṣaḷkūṇ munṇar ya-ra-v-uṇ tḍṇum.* (ibid. 24.)  
*Nā-ṇa-ṇa-na ma-ṇa-v-ṣum puḷli munṇar-k*  
*Tatta m-ṣaikaḷ-attaya nilaiyē.* (ibid. 25.)  
*Aṇṇuḷ*  
*Nā-ṇaḷkūṇ munṇar-k*  
*Ka-ca-ṇa-pa ma-ṇa-v-a v-ṣṣu m-urīya.* (ibid. 26.)  
*Nā-na-ma-ṇa v-ṣṣum puḷli munṇar*  
*Ṣaḷkū ṇiṇṇu meṇ-ṇeṇ t-ṣṣē.* (ibid. 27.)  
*Maḷkūṇ puḷli-muṇ va-v-uṇa tḍṇum.* (ibid. 28.)  
*Ya-ra-ṣa v-ṣṣum puḷli munṇar*  
*Mṇatā k-ṣattu naḷaramoṣu tḍṇum.* (ibid. 5.)
2. *Ḍṣmāntaḷṣṭhar iḍṣma-caḷūravargā mūntam yāntyanṇatra viṣar-*  
*janīyār.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)
3. A. V. P. I. 5.
4. Classical Sanskrit allows *ṣh* as an initial member, cf. *ṣhaṭṭi*.

stand as initial members of words<sup>1</sup>. But Tamil allows *ñ* as in the words *ñāṭam*, *ñāṇṭā* as the initial member.

Again the same Prātisākhya says that, in the middle of words, the second, third and fourth sounds of the five vargas are not followed by the same sounds<sup>2</sup>. But this may appear to be wrong since such words as *lajjā*, *majjā* are found in classical Sanskrit. But it seems they are not found in R̥gvēda. *l* is not followed by *r*<sup>3</sup>; *v* is not followed by the first four sounds of each of the five vargas, but is preceded by them<sup>4</sup>; the fricatives are not followed by the second or fourth sound of each varga<sup>5</sup>; *r* is not followed by *r*<sup>6</sup>; *h* does not follow an explosive<sup>7</sup>; *y* is not followed by *l* or explosives, but is preceded by them<sup>8</sup>.

Here the points to be noted are the following:—Tamil allows all explosives except *ṭ* and *ṣ* after *y* while Sanskrit does not. On the other hand, Tamil does not allow *y* after the stops, while Sanskrit allows it. But both Sanskrit and Tamil agree in not allowing *r* to be followed by *r*, *l* to be followed by *r* and *v* to be followed by *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p*.

It seems to me that Tolkāppiyāṇār has followed the Prātisākhyas here also as in the case of mentioning initial and final vowels.

1.5. *Secondary sounds which are classed by Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants*:—1.51. *Ancient period*: Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions *ōḷam* as a secondary sound but does not say whether it is a vowel or a consonant.

1. *Ḥkūra-ḥkūrū paramardhamūṣmanūṣm nūdiṇṇu takārūd-avarē na uṭṭa*. (R. V. P. 12, 2.)
2. *Nūṇṇṇṇṇṇa madhyamūḷ sparśavarṇūḷ saṇṇuṇṇiṇṇuṇṇē*. (ibid. 12, 3.)
3. *Na lakārēṇa vēḇḥḥ*. (ibid. 12, 4.)
4. *Sparśair-vakūrō na parair-anuttamaiḥ*. (ibid. 12, 5.)
5. *Tathā tēḷḷam ghṛḥṇaiḥ sarvathāḥśamakṛṇṇi*. (ibid. 12, 6.)
6. *Na rēḇḥo vēḇḥḥ*. (ibid. 12, 8.)
7. *Na sparśāir-ūṣmāḷ prathamaḥ paraiṣan*. (ibid. 12, 10.)
8. *Lakūra-sparśāir na yakūra uttaraiḥ*. (ibid. 12, 14)

1.52. *Medieval period*:—The author of Viracōḷiyam mentions none in this category. The author of Nēminātam mentions 217 secondary sounds under this category consisting of 216 vowel-consonants and one 'shortened āy<sup>1</sup>am'. The author of Nannūl adds the unshortened āy<sup>1</sup>am to the above list, and he divides it into eight. I think it would have been much better if he had divided it into six according as it is succeeded by one of *k, c, f, t, p* and *ṛ* without adding two more as *a* in *aṣṭū* and *aṣṭaiya* where it evidently precedes one of the above six consonants.

1.53. *Modern period*.—The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Nannūlar except in discarding the shortened āy<sup>1</sup>am, on the authority of Tolkāppiyaṇār who has not stated that the āy<sup>1</sup>am, which is substituted for *l* and *ḷ* in the sandhi *al + liṇai = aṣṭiṇai* and *muḷ + ḷiṭū = muṣṭiṭū*, is shortened.

1.54. It has already been mentioned in 1.222 *supra* that it is a mistake to have included vowel-consonants among secondary sounds and that they are not at all unitary sounds. As regards the shortened āy<sup>1</sup>am, I fully agree with the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam. Hence of the secondary sounds which are classed by the Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants that which is to be dealt with here is only āy<sup>1</sup>am.

1.55. 'Āy<sup>1</sup>am':—1. 551. In the ancient period it appears that this was not included in the alphabet between vowels and consonants, since Tolkāppiyaṇār says in the first sūtra 'Akaraṇaṁ mutal paṇaraviruvāy (eḷuttu) muṇṇaḷeṇ pa' (which means thirty letters from *a* to *ṇ*) and mentions āy<sup>1</sup>am in the second sūtra. But in the medieval period, it was included between them as it is now, since the author of Viracōḷiyam says so<sup>1</sup>.

Dr. Caldwell has written it along with the vowels and mentions in page 353 that it is 'a sort of guttural'; but whether it is a vowel or a consonant or neither must be carefully considered.

1.552. *Ancient period*:—Tolkāppiyaṇār says that āy<sup>1</sup>am is one of the secondary sounds and appears in the middle of words

1. *Arinta-eḷuttam-muṇ paṇṇiraviruvāyā jūya-kam-muṇ*  
*Piṇṇa-patiṇṇaiḷ mey-mūḷ-e-āy<sup>1</sup>am . . . . .* (V. C. 1.)

after a short vowel and before a voiceless consonant followed by a vowel<sup>1</sup>, and also its place of production is determined by that of the consonant in whose company it is<sup>2</sup>. It is classed by him neither as a vowel nor as a consonant. This is perhaps due to Pāṇini not having classed *jihvāmūliya* or *ṇpadhmāliya* as a vowel or a consonant.

1.553. *Medieval and Modern periods*:—Nēminātam says that it is one of the 31 primary sounds<sup>3</sup>; but this is wrong. In Nāṅṅūl, the grammar of the medieval period and in Ilakkavilakṣam of the modern period<sup>4</sup> it is said to be an open sound and its place of production is the head<sup>5</sup>. This is quite contrary to what is said in Tolkāppiyam. How can it be an open sound? Its pronunciation is just like that of the spirant<sup>6</sup> *jihvāmūliya* in *kaḥ karōti* when it is followed by *k*, and the spirant *ṇpadhmāliya* in *kaḥ phaiati* when it is followed by *p*. In Tamil it can come even before *c*, *f*, *l* and *ṛ* which is not the case in Sanskrit. It must be pronounced by allowing the air to reach that part of the vocal organs where the following consonant is produced and suddenly arresting it so that a part of the air may escape with friction as in the case of fricatives. Hence Tolkāppiyāṇār says that its place of articulation is that of the letter in whose company it is. This must evidently be the consonant that follows it. This statement is almost similar to what is said in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya as regards *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h*, *jihvāmūliya* and *ṇpadhmāliya*<sup>7</sup>.

1. *Kuṣipataṅ mūṇṇa r-āyā-p pulli*  
*Uyirāṭṭu puṇṇarūṭaṇal lāṅṅu micaiṭṭē.* (Tol. E. 33.)
2. *Cāṇṇu-vai y-allatū tamakkizal pila-v-eyal*  
*Tērutu-vēḷi p paḷutta v-ēṇai mūṇṇu*  
*Tattai cūṇṇi piṇṇappuṇ civaṇi*  
*Oṭṭa kōṭṭiṇṇi ṇam-m-iyal p-iyalum.* (ibid. 101.)
3. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āṅṇirāṭṭu m-āyṭam-iṇai*  
*Mēvum.....* (N. N. E. 1.)
4. *Āyṭaṇṇi cōṭaiyi ṇ aṇṇāṇṇi iyalum.* (I. V. 13.)
5. *Āyṭak kēṇ-talai y-aṇṇā mūṇṇai.* (Na. 87.)
6. cf. *Uttarē aṣṭā āṣmāṇaḥ.* (R. V. P. i, 12.)
7. *Parē ṣaḍ āṣmāṇaḥ.* (Taī. P. i, 9.) and *Sparśanūhāṇṇa āṣmāṇa*

Thus in pronouncing & in *caṅṅū*, *kaṅṅū*, *muṅṅitū*, *aṅṅū*, *aṅṅōtam*, *kaṅṅitū*, the air must respectively be allowed to reach the soft palate, middle of the hard palate, the front portion of the hard palate, the teeth, the lips and the top of the hard palate. This is also borne out by the fact that it is replaced by a consonant similar to its succeeding consonant; *muṅṅitū* is changed to *muṅṅitū<sup>1</sup>*, *kaṅṅitū* to *kaṅṅitū<sup>2</sup>*, *orupāṅṅū + orṅṅū* to *orupāṅṅorṅṅū<sup>3</sup>*, and so on. Besides, one can see from euphony in the expression *kāṅṅa-k-kaṅṅar* (Pattu, 236, 633) & cannot be guttural, but only a spirant produced where *ṅ* is produced. It is therefore a kind of arrested voiceless spirant resembling in its sound the first part of the affricate reversed and hence it was not in the ancient and medieval periods a guttural as Dr. Caldwell thinks, nor is it an open sound produced at the head as many of the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods think<sup>4</sup>.

But it is now pronounced in all cases in the same way as if it were before 'k'. It is evident however that it does not conform to etymology; for it is not generally possible to have a guttural spirant or fricative before a palatal, cerebral, dental or labial consonant. The forms *muṅṅitū* and *kaṅṅitū* are respectively formed by the combination of two words *muṅ + itū* and *kaṅ + itū*; in the former case the initial *ṭ* of *itū* is cerebralised by the influence of the preceding cerebral *ṅ*, and *ṭ* is correspondingly changed to & by being assimilated to *ṅ*. Can the sound assimilated to a cerebral be a guttural? Similarly in the latter case the

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*ānupūrvyaṅṅa*. (Tai. P. 2 +.) and *śivāmūṭiyāṅṅa kavargasthānā*  
.....*upadhmūṭiyāṅṅa pavargasthānā*, (Tai. P. 2, 44, Comm.)

1. *Āyta nilaiyalum varai-nilai ṅ-iṅṅē*  
*Takaram varuṅṅū kūlai ṅ-āṅṅa*. (Tol. E. 400.)
2. *Takaram varu-vaṅṅi ṅ-āyta nilaiyalum*  
*Pukariṅṅa ṅ-ṅṅamāṅṅar pulamai ṅ-ṅṅā*. (ibid. 370.)
3. *Orupāṅṅa tāti-muṅṅa ṅ-orṅṅa-muṅṅa ṅ-orṅṅā*  
*ṅ-ṅṅa m-āṅṅi-ṅ-ṅṅa piṅṅa m-ṅṅiṅṅa*  
*Āyta m-āṅṅi-ṅ-ṅṅa tāṅṅa ta-ṅ-ṅṅā*. (Na. 196.)
4. *Āyta-k-ṅ-iṅṅa-talai ṅ-āṅṅā muṅṅarṅṅi*  
..... (Na. 87.)

initial *l* of *litā* is changed to cerebral *ṛ* by the influence of the preceding *l* and consequently *l* is changed to *ḷ* by being assimilated to *ṛ*; nowhere is a guttural seen in Tamil words before ' *ṛ* '.

I cannot definitely find out how and when this unetymological pronunciation of *ḷ* came into existence. But I may say that it may have come after the 8th or 9th century A. D., since the word *iydeḷudī*<sup>1</sup> or *isdeḷudī* is found in line 152 of the Vēlvikuḍi Grant published in Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XVII Part VII which shows that *ḷ* before *d* was pronounced like *y* at that time. If the dental spirant is carelessly pronounced, it may almost resemble ' *y* '. But since in most of the simple words where it occurs it is followed by the guttural, possibly the guttural sound was generalised throughout<sup>2</sup>. Owing to this modern pronunciation of *ḷ*, one symbol ' *k* ' is being used by the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University<sup>3</sup>.

Another point deserves to be noted as regards the origin of *āytam*. It is not found in Telugu and Canarese, nor in pure

1. The word in the grant in Tamil script should be இய்டெஹுடி. I think it would have been pronounced then as *iyteḷuti* though it is transliterated in the Epigraphica Indica as *iydeḷudī*.

2. <i>aḷḷam</i>	<i>aḷḷarām</i>	<i>aḷḷal</i>	<i>aḷḷū</i>
<i>aḷḷāṇam</i>	<i>aḷḷāṇ</i>	<i>aḷḷū</i>	<i>aḷḷātam</i>
<i>iḷḷū</i>	<i>eḷḷam</i>	<i>eḷḷū</i>	<i>kaḷḷū</i>
<i>kaḷḷū</i>	Compound words like <i>muḷḷiṭṭū</i> , <i>kaḷḷiṭṭū</i> , etc.		

3. Its definition in the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras that it is ' the 13th letter of the Tamil alphabet occurring only after a short initial letter and before a hard consonant as *aḷḷam*, and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant is defective in two ways :— ' after a short initial letter ' must be changed to ' after a short vowel ' ; ' and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant ' must be changed to ' and is a fricative ; but mentioned by the Tamil Grammarians neither as a vowel nor as a consonant '. Hence Dr. Beschi's statement '*āytam-enṇātu iṇṇakurī-p-peyar, mutaleḷuttu muppatiṇ ṇṇallatu-vēṇṇāy nīṇṇāṇṇum nyirpōla-t taṇṇittali-yūtumāy meypōla nyir-ēṇṇeppeṇṇātumāy mutal-ēḷuttāntaṇṇmai eḷṇāmaiṇṇum iṇṇ-maṇṇāṇṇum vaṇṇum-ēḷuttai cāṇṇalittalāṇṇum cāṇṇēḷuttuṇṇ ṇṇṇā-yiṇṇa*' deserves to be noted. (To. V. 13, Comm.)



Malayāḷam words. Even in Tamil it is not an indispensable letter since it can be replaced by its succeeding letter. Besides, its sound before *k* and *ṣ* respectively agrees with that of visarga before a guttural and a labial (i.e.) *jihvāmūḷiṃya* and *upadhmūḷiṃya*. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar writes in his article on '*Tolkāppiyāṇṇam Puḷḷiyēḷuttam*' in page 153 Vol. XXV of Centamīl published by the Tamil Sangam at Madura that in ancient times āytam was represented by visarga. Hence it seems to me that the visarga which is used before a guttural and a labial as *jihvāmūḷiṃya* and *upadhmūḷiṃya* was borrowed from Sanskrit and extended in its use before all the voiceless consonants in Tamil though Dr. Caldwell says that it is a peculiar Tamil letter. (C. D. G. p. 353.)

I am glad to find recently that M. J. Vinson has written in 1916<sup>1</sup> that the extraordinary form of āytam is related to the visarga of which it is, without doubt, only an adaptation, though he seems to be confronted with the difficulty from the statement of Tamil grammarians on the authority of Nappūl that its origin is in the head and is pronounced with the mouth fully open. This clearly shows that the Tamil Pandits with whom he came in contact with had ignored Tolkāppiyam. If they had thought of that work, they would certainly have told the learned professor that its origin depends upon the sounds in whose company it appears (Tol. E. 101) and then he might easily have inferred that, since it follows a vowel and is followed by a voiceless explosive consonant, it could not be a completely open sound. Besides if he had noted that āytam was represented by visarga in earlier days<sup>2</sup>, it would have strengthened his inference to a considerable extent.

He derives the word āytam from the Sanskrit word āyudha and also states that he did not know any example of āytam out-

1. 'Sur un caractere Singulier Dans L'alphabet Tamoul in Journal Asiatique Onzieme Serie Tome VII, 1916, p. 343.

2. *Tolkāppiyāṇṇam Puḷḷiyēḷuttam* by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, p. 153, Centamīl, Vol. XXV.

side the grammars; the former point is disproved by the opinion of the late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar noted below. As for the latter, many examples are found in Sangam works. cf. *paṣṇuḷi maṭaliyūm* (P. N. 9, 11.); *iṭiyūm iranla paṇicil aṭivuliy* (P. N. 145, 8); *eakuṇ vūḷuppan* (P. N. 233, 7.); *yāṅkaṭuṇṇa* (P. N. 319, 4).

Similarly, the Rev. Dr. Pope is of opinion that 'it may be an imitation of Sanskrit visarga and it is used in poetry only.' (cf. P. H. T. L. p. 13.) But now it is used in prose also. For instance, the word *aṭṭu* and *iṭṭu* are used if they are followed by words commencing with a vowel, as *aṭṭu inṅē illai*, etc.

The late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar said in one of his lectures delivered in 1925 under the auspices of the Teachers' Guild, Madras, that there is coincidence between the term *cārpaḷuttu* applied to *āyṭam* in Tamil Grammar and the term *parāśritān* applied to *jihvāmūḷya* and *upadhmānīya* in Pāṇiniya-śikṣā, and hence the word *āyṭam* is the tamilised form of *āśrita*.

## 2. SANDHI.

2.1. 'Avoidance of hiatus and assimilation are the leading principles on which the rules of sandhi are based'<sup>1</sup>.

2.11. *Ancient Period:* 2.111. *Classification:* Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies the nature of sandhi into two kinds, one having change in sounds and the other having no change<sup>2</sup>. The former is of three kinds:—*meypīṇitātāl*<sup>3</sup> or assimilation, *mikutāl* or insertion and *kuṇṇāl* or elision<sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup>. And the latter is called *iyaḷpā*. As regards insertion, it is a peculiarity with Tamil, as Tolkāppiyāṇār

1. M. V. G. 20.

2. *Avuṇṇuḷ*

*Niṇutta colli v-āṇ kēḷuttōḷ*

*Kuṇittu-varu kēḷavi mutalēḷut t-īyāiya-p*

*Peṇarōḷ peṇarai-p paṇarkkūḷ kālun*

*Peṇarōḷ tōḷilal-p paṇarkkūḷ kālun*

*Tōḷilōḷ peṇarai-p paṇarkkūḷ kālun*

*Tōḷilōḷ tōḷilal-p paṇarkkūḷ kālun*

*Mūṇṇē tiripīṇ v-āṇṇē p-īyaḷpeṇa*

*Āṇṇan nāṇṇē mōḷipunā v-īyaḷpā.* (Tol. E. 109).

3. Assimilation and substitution are both taken as assimilation.

4. *Avaitām*

*Meypīṇi tātun mikutāl kuṇṇāl-āṇṇē*

*Iv-ēṇa mōḷipa tiriyu m-āṇṇē.* (Tol. E. 110.)

5. It seems possible that the classification of sandhi into four and their names are adapted mostly from those found in Prātiśākhya. *Meypīṇitātāl*, *mikutāl*, *kuṇṇāl* and *iyaḷpā* respectively are close translation of the words *vikāra* or *varnavikāra*, *āgama*, *lōpa* and *prakṛti* which are found in the following quotations:—

*Varṇasya vikāra lōpān* (Tai. P. i. 36.)

*Vināśō lōpāḥ* (Tai. P. i. 27.)

*Āḥkāra āgama vikāri lōpīgām* (Tai. p. i. 23.)

*Tamīti vikārah* (S. Y. V. P. i. 133.)

says, that the *cāriyai* or the flexional increments are generally inserted between the base of the noun and the case suffix<sup>1</sup> on the one hand, and between the verbal base and the verbal termination on the other. He then classifies sandhi into *vēṟṟumai-p-puṇarcci* or case-relation sandhi and *alvāli-p-puṇarcci* or non-case-relation sandhi according as the two words which undergo change in sandhi stand in case-relation to each other or not.<sup>2</sup>

2.112. *Treatment of the same by Tolkāppiyāṇār*: He treats in *urupiyal* the *cāriyai* or flexional increments that are inserted between the base of the noun and the case-suffix and in the latter half of *puṇariyal*, the special changes that take place in sandhi between the final member of the base and the initial member of the flexional increment; in *tokai-marapu*, he generally deals with the changes which the initial member of the 'following word'<sup>3</sup>

*Tēvāyāgamah* (S. Y. V. P. i, 137.)

*Vārṇatyaḍarśanam lōpaḥ* (S. Y. V. P. i, 141.)

*Prakṛtyā padāntīyah* (S. Y. V. P. iii, 90.)

*Pragṛhyakā prakṛtyā* (A. V. P. iii, 33.)

*Prakṛtyantāḥ pādamaṇḍapāṭṭ* (P. 6. 1, 115.)

*Adarśanam lōpaḥ* (P. 1, 1, 60.)

*Lōpāgama vārṇatyaḍarśanāḥ lōhi samyāḥ śabdāḥ jānāti* (M. B. 11 15.)

As regards the term *kuṇṇal*, Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to have incorporated the meaning of *lōpa* as *vināśa* as mentioned in Taittirīya Prātisākhya and not *adarśanam* as mentioned in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī or Śukla Yajurveda Prātisākhya, and as regards *meppirittātal*, he has translated the word *vikāra* or *vārṇavikāra* found in Prātisākhyas and not *ādēśa* mentioned in Pāṇini's sūtras in 'ādēśa pratyayaḥ' (P. 8. 3, 39.).

1. *Niṇṇutta colluṇ kuṇṇittu-varu kiṇaiyumu*

*Aṭai-yoṭṭi lōṇṇiṇṇum puṇar-nilai-k kuṇiya*, (Tol. E. 111.)

It seems to me that this is due to making the syllable containing the oblique case suffix so heavy that it must be clearly pronounced.

2. *Vēṟṟumai kuṇṇitta puṇar-mōli nilaiyumu*

*Vēṟṟumai y-alvāli-p puṇar-mōli nilaiyumu*

*Eluṭiē cāriyai y-āyiru puṇṇiṇṇ*

*Oḷukkal valiya puṇarun kōtai*, (Tol. E. 113.)

3. If sandhi takes place between two words, the former is called by Tamil Grammarians, *nilaimōli* and the latter, *varumōli*. I have, in

undergoes, and the final member of the 'standing word,' etc. In *nyir-mayanikiyal* and *pulli-mayanikiyal* he respectively deals with the sandhi which takes place when the final members of the standing words are vowels or consonants. Since *kurriyalukaram* is a peculiarity of Dravidian languages and the changes that take place in sandhi when the final member of the standing word is *u* are different from those that take place when it is *ā*, the latter are separately treated in the last section.

When two words, one ending in a vowel and the other beginning with a vowel come together, it is stated that no one is prevented from writing between them an *ṇṭam-ṭaṭṭu-mey* or an intervocalic consonant that suits them<sup>1</sup>. This shows that it was not compulsory in his time to insert *y*, *r*, etc. between two vowels as it was at the time of the later grammarians. This is borne out by the absence of *ṇṭamṭaṭṭumey* in some places in some inscriptions<sup>2</sup> & <sup>3</sup>. Nor does *Tolkāppiyār* state what such *ṇṭamṭaṭṭu-mey* is.

I will now deal in detail, with (1) the inserted flexional suffixes, (2) the changes in sandhi in such cases, (3) the changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes (4) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a vowel other than *kurriyalukaram* (5) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a consonant and (6) the changes when the final member of the standing word is 'ā'.

#### 2.1121. The Inserted flexional suffixes<sup>4</sup>.

this thesis, translated them literally as *standing word* and *following word* respectively.

1. *Elā māṭṭikkū m-ṇṭir-ṇṭu vāṭṭi*

*Ṭṭam-ṭaṭṭu mey-yi ṇ-ṇṭu-ṇṭaṭṭu vāṭṭi*. (Tol. E. 141.)

2. Note that in the compound *mā-ṇṭamperum ṇṭar kūviri*, there is no *ṇṭamṭaṭṭumey* between 'ā' of *mā* and 'i' of *ṇṭam*. (I. A. Vol. 22 p. 70-M. M. P.)

3. *Malar māṭṭai-ōdu* (line 46); *pū vīri-um* (line 93); *kūviri-iṭṭ* (line 93); *māṇi-ṇṭamperum* (line 81) of Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII, V. G.

4. The sūtras dealing with these are found in *arupināṭi-Sūtras* 174-203.

## 74 HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

*Final Member of the Base.*

*Flexional increment inserted.*

*General rule:*

*a, ā, u, ū, ē, au*

*iṅ* (e.g. *viḷa + ai = viḷa-v-iṅ-ai*)

*Exceptions:*

*a* in *paḷla*

*varṇu* also (e.g. *paḷlavarṇai*)

*ā* of interrogative *yā*

Do. (e.g. *yāvārṇai*)

*a* & *ā* (of names of trees)

*attu* also (in the 7th case)

*u* in *atu, ūtu, utu*

*ay* also, when the final *u* is dropped. (e.g. *atu + ai = atu + ay + ai = atayai*)

*General rule:*

*ai* of *avai, ivai, uvai*

*varṇu* also (e.g. *avaiyarṇai*)

*ai* of interrogative *yā*

Do. (e.g. *yāvārṇai*)

*i* of *nī*

*i* is shortened to *i* and *ṅ* is inserted (e.g. *nīṅṅai*)

*ō*

*oṅ* (e.g. *kō oṅṅai*)<sup>1</sup>

*ñ, n*

*iṅ* (e.g. *urīñ + ai = urīñiṅai*)

*v* of *av, iv, uv*

*varṇu* (e.g. *avarṇai*)<sup>2</sup>

*v* of *ter*

*iṅ* (e.g. *terviṅai*)

*General rule:*

*m*

*attu* and sometimes *iṅ*. (e.g. *ma-ram + ai = marattai; mramiṅai*)

*m* of *mum*

no insertion; but *m* is doubled. (e.g. *mum-m-ai*)

*m* of *tām, nām* and *yām*

<sup>3</sup>no insertion; but *ā* is shortened in the first two cases and *yā* is changed to *e* in the third case and *m* is doubled. (e.g. *tam-mai, nam-mai, emmai*)

*m* of *ellām*

*varṇu* when it refers to neuter nouns and *nam* when it refers to *myartinaṭi*, before the case-suffix and *um* after the case-suffix. (e.g. *ellām + ai = ellā-varṇaiyum* or *ellānammayum*)

1. This is a case where *hiatus* is allowed.

2. *av, iv, uv* are neuter demonstrative plurals.

3. This shows that the accent is possible on the case-suffix.

m of <i>ellārum</i> (3rd person) and of <i>ellirum</i> (2nd person)	<i>lam</i> and <i>num</i> respectively; but the final <i>um</i> is taken after case-suffix. (e.g. <i>ellārum</i> + <i>ai</i> = <i>el-lārummayum</i> , <i>ellirum</i> + <i>ai</i> = <i>ellirunmayum</i> )
ṛ of <i>tāṛ</i> and <i>yāṛ</i>	no increment; but <i>ā</i> is shortened to <i>a</i> , <i>yā</i> is changed to <i>e</i> and <i>ṛ</i> is doubled. (e.g. <i>tappai</i> , <i>cappai</i> )
ṇ of <i>alay</i> and <i>pulay</i>	<i>attu</i> or <i>iṇ</i>
ḷ of <i>ēḷ</i>	<i>ay</i> (e.g. <i>ēḷayai</i> ) <sup>1</sup>
General rule:	
ā	<i>iṇ</i> (e.g. <i>nāḷṇai</i> )
Exceptions:	
ā following a long vowel	generally no insertion; but the final consonant is doubled. (e.g. <i>yāṭi</i> + <i>ai</i> = <i>yāṭṭai</i> ; sometimes <i>yāṭṭayai</i> also.)
ā at the end of words denoting number.	<i>ay</i> (e.g. <i>ayrayai</i> .)
ā in <i>orupāṭi</i> , <i>irupāṭi</i> , etc.	<i>āy</i> , and <i>āṭi</i> is dropped. (e.g. <i>orupāyai</i> )
ā of <i>yāṭi</i> , <i>āṭi</i> , <i>ṭāṭi</i> & <i>nāṭi</i> .	<i>ay</i> , but <i>ā</i> is dropped (e.g. <i>yāṭayai</i> , <i>alayai</i> )
ā at the end of words denoting directions before the seventh case-suffix.	No insertion; but 'ā' with the preceding consonant is dropped. (e.g. <i>vaṭakkū</i> + <i>kaṇ</i> = <i>vaṭakkaṇ</i> )

In the last sūtra he says that, if other increments are used in literature, we will have to take them also.

2.1122. *The changes which the flexional increments undergo in Sandhi:*<sup>2</sup>

(a) *i* of *iṇ* is optionally dropped after *ā*. (e.g. *ā* + *iṇ* + *ai* = *āyai*; also *āvīyai*.)

1. The original *ēḷ* meaning seven is now pronounced by adding *ā* at the end as *ēḷā*, although *ā* cannot follow *ḷ* according to Tol. E. 36.

2. The sūtras under this heading are all found in *paṇariyaḷ* of Tolkāppiyam (121, 123 to 127, 129 to 132 and 134).

(b) *v* of *vayru* is dropped after *avai*, *ivai*, *avai*. (e.g. *avai + vayru + ai = avai-y-ayrai*.)

(c) *y* of *iy* is changed to *r* before *ku*, the fourth case-suffix. (e.g. *viṭa-v-iy-ku = viṭavirkū*.)

(d) *y* of *āy* is changed to *r* when it is preceded by a word denoting star and is followed by a word beginning with a voiceless consonant. (e.g. *parayī + āy + koṇṭāy = parayī-y-ār-koṇṭāy*.)

(e) *a* of *attu* is dropped after *a*. (e.g. *makam + attu + kai = maka + attu + kai = makattu-k-kai*.)

(f) *i* of *ikku* is dropped after *i* and *ai* (e.g. *āṭikkū-k-koṇṭāy*; *cittiraiṅku-k-koṇṭāy*.)

(g) *ku* of *akku* is dropped if it is followed by a voiceless consonant. (e.g. *tamiḷ + akku + kūtū = tamiḷ-ak-kūtū*.)

(h) *m* of *am* is assimilated to *n̄*, *n̄* and *n* when it is respectively followed by *k*, *c*, and *t*.

(i) *m* of *am* is dropped if it is followed by a nasal or a semi-vowel. (e.g. *puṭṭiyaṇṇē*.)

(j) *iy* is dropped before the case suffix *iy*.

(k) The consonant preceding *attu* and *vayru* is dropped and that which follows is doubled if it is a voiceless consonant. (e.g. *kalam + attu + kuraṭi = kalattu-k-kuraṭi*.)

2.1123. *The Changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes.*

<sup>1</sup>(a) *t* and *n* which follow *l* and *y* are respectively changed to *r* and *n̄*. (e.g. *kal + ṭitū = kaṇṭitū*; *ṭon + naurū = ṭonṇaurū*, etc.)

<sup>2</sup>(b) *t* and *n* which follow *y* and *l* are respectively changed to *ṭ* and *n̄*. (e.g. *may + ṭitū = mayṭitū*; *may + naurū = mayṇaurū*, etc.)

2.1124. *The Changes when the final member of the Standing word is a vowel other than 'u',<sup>3</sup>*

1. *La-ṇa veṇa-varūm puṭṭi muṇṇar-t*

*Tana veṇa-varit ṇa-ṇa-v-ā kum-m-ā*. (Tol. E. 150.)

2. *Na-ṇa-v-ṇ puṭṭi-muṇ ṇa-ṇa-v-ṇa-t iṭṭuṇm*. (ibid. 151.)

3. The sūtras under this heading are found in *upimayāmbiyal* of *Tolkāppiyam* (sūtras 204 to 296).



<i>Final member of the standing word.</i>	<i>Initial member of the following word.</i>	<i>Change in sandhi.</i>
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## ‘A’

*Non-case-relation sandhi:*

<i>a</i> (of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>vilā + kṛitū = vilā-k-kṛitū.</i> )
<i>a</i> (of verbal participles, particles denoting comparison, <i>etā</i> and <i>āṅka</i> and demonstrative roots)	do	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>a-k-kor-rāṇ.</i> )
<i>a</i> (demonstrative root)	<i>ā, u, m</i>	<i>ā, u, m</i> are respectively inserted (e.g. <i>a-ā-āṅka.</i> )
Do.	<i>y, v</i>	<i>r</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>a + yāl = a-v-yāl.</i> )
Do.	any vowel	<i>v</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>a + ilai = a-v-ilai</i> )
Do.	Do.	<i>a</i> is also lengthened in verse (e.g. <i>a + irutiṇai-yum = ā-y-irutiṇai-yum</i> )

*Case-relation sandhi:*

<i>a</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>a</i> (of names of trees)	do.	<i>ā, ā, u, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>vilā + kōṭū = vilā-ā-kōṭū</i> )
<i>a</i> (of <i>maka</i> , the name of a tree.)	do.	The flexional increment <i>iy</i> or <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>m a k a + k a i = makaviṇkai</i> or <i>maka-tukhai.</i> )

## ‘Ā’

*Non-case-relation sandhi:*

<i>ā</i> (of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tārā-ā-kṛitū.</i> )
<i>ā</i> (of verbal participles)	do.	Do. (e.g. <i>uṇṇā-c-cēṇ-rāṇ.</i> )

$\bar{a}$ (of nouns when compounded with another noun in <i>munaittekai</i> or <i>dvanda</i> compound)	$k, c, t, p$	<sup>1</sup> $a$ with one of $k, c, t, p$ is respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>irā-a-p-pakal</i> .)
<i>Case-relation-sandhi:</i>		
$\bar{a}$	do.	$k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tārā + kāl = tārā-k-kāl</i> etc.)
$\bar{a}$ (in words whose vowel previous to the final $\bar{a}$ is short or in words of one syllable.)	do.	<sup>2</sup> $a$ with one of $k, c, t, p$ is respectively inserted (e.g. <i>palā-a-k-kōṭṭi</i> .)
<i>Exceptions:</i>		
$\bar{a}$ (of <i>nīlā</i> )	do.	The flexional increment <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>nīlā + koṇṭāy = nīlā + attu + koṇṭāy = nīlāttukkoṇṭāy</i> .)
$\bar{a}$ (of <i>irā</i> )	do.	Only $k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>irā + koṇṭāy = irā-k-koṇṭāy</i> .)
$\bar{a}$ (of the word $\bar{a}$ )	$p$	$p$ is inserted and the final $i$ is shortened to $i$ . (e.g. $\bar{a} + p\bar{i} = \bar{a}pp\bar{i}$ .)
<i>Case-relation sandhi:</i>		
$i$	$k, c, t, p$	$k, c, t, p$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kīḷi + kāl = kīḷi-k-kāl</i> .)
$i$ (of <i>vaḷi</i> , <i>paṇi</i> (season))	do.	Flexional increments <i>attu</i> & <i>iṇ</i> are inserted.
$i$ (of <i>nti</i> (tree))	do.	$\tilde{n}, \tilde{ñ}, n, m$ are respectively inserted.
$i$ (of <i>puḷi</i> (tree))	do.	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted.

1 & 2. These are cases where hiatus is allowed; but some Tamilians seem to think that the  $a$  after  $\bar{a}$  denotes that  $\bar{a}$  has 3 mātrās and as such is not a separate sound; but here in this sūtra the expression 'akaramikumā' is found. Here *mikum* shows that it is a separate sound according to Tolkūppiyagār. But now  $a$  and  $\bar{a}$  are pronounced only as  $\bar{a}$ 3.

<i>i</i> (of <i>paṭi</i> (not denoting tree))	<i>h, c, t, p</i>	<i>h, c, t, p</i> or <i>ñ, ñ̄, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>i</i> (at the end of words denoting star)	do. of verbs.	Flexional increment <i>āy</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>paraṇi + kṛṇāy = paraṇi-āy</i> <i>+ kṛṇāy = paraṇi-y-āy-kṛṇāy</i> .)
<i>i</i> (at the end of words denoting month)	do.	Flexional increment <i>ikku</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āfi + kṛṇāy = āfi + ikku + kṛṇāy = āfi/ikku-kṛṇāy</i> .)

### Non-case-relevant sandhi:

i (of <i>ipi</i> , <i>opi</i> , verbal participle, and demonstrative root)	k, c, t, p	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>ipi</i> + <i>konfān</i> = <i>in-k-konfān</i> .)
i (of <i>inri</i> , verbal participle)	in verse	<sup>1</sup> changes to <i>n</i> . (e.g. <i>n-pi-nurufurkai</i> where <i>in-rn</i> is found for <i>inri</i> .)
i (of demonstrative)	ā, n, m	ā, n, m are respectively inserted.
Do	y, v, & any vowel.	v is inserted. (e.g. <i>i</i> = <i>yā</i> (= <i>i-v-yā</i> .)

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*ī* (both in non-case-relation sandhi and in case-relation sandhi) agrees with the final *ā*.

Exceptions:

ī (of nī, pī)	k, c, t, p	No change. (e.g. <i>nī + kūrīyai = nīkūrīyai</i> , etc.)
ī (of mī)	Do.	No change, or <i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>mī + kōl = mīkōl</i> or <i>mīkkōl</i> , etc.)

1. This change of *i* to *u* may be due to the influence of the initial *u* in *appa* or *u* in *parṣai*, in which case this is an illustration of harmonic sequence of vowels.

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ī (of *ai* when it takes the flexional increment *iṅ*)      *k, c, t, p*      ī is shortened, *y* is inserted after it. (e.g. *ai + kai = aiṅkai*.)

‘U’

In non-case-relation sandhi it mostly agrees with the final *a* with the following exceptions:—When *atu*, *itu* and *utu* are followed by verbs beginning with *k, c, t, p*, it has no change; but when followed by *ayṛē* in verse, *u* of *atu*, etc., is changed to *ā*. (e.g. *atāayṛanna*.)

Even in case-relation sandhi, it mostly agrees with the final *a* with the following exception:—When *atu*, *itu* and *utu* are followed by *k, c, t, p*, the flexional increment *iṅ* is inserted.

‘Ū’

Both in case-relation sandhi and non-case-relation sandhi *ū* agrees with *ā*, i.e., if it is followed by *k, c, t, p*, one of them is inserted.

*Exceptions:*

(a) When its preceding vowel is short or when it is the final of a single-syllabled word, *u* is inserted in addition to one of *k, c, t, p*. (e.g. *utū + kuraṭi = utūu-k-kuraṭi*.)

(b) After *ū* in the word *pū*, the nasal also is optionally inserted. (e.g. *pū-k-kōṭi* and *pū-ṇ-kōṭi*.)

(c) After *ū* in *āṭū* and *maṭṭū*, the flexional increment *iṅ* is optionally added. (e.g. *āṭū-v-iṅ-kai*.)

<i>Final member of the standing word</i>	<i>Initial member of the following word.</i>	<i>Change in sandhi.</i>
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‘E’

<i>e</i> (at the end of verbs of 2nd person)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted.
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<i>a</i> (at the end of nouns added for emphasis)	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>ḷekay-ṭāy</i> .)
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‘Ē’

*General rule:*

<i>ē</i> (both in case-relation and non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>cē + kaṭṭiṭṭi = cē-k-kaṭṭiṭṭi</i> , etc.)
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*Exceptions:*

<i>ē</i> (at the end of nouns to denote negation, interrogation, number)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	No change. (e.g. <i>yāyē-konṭēn</i> in the sense <i>yāykonṭilēn</i> , etc.)
<i>ē</i> (of the word <i>cē</i> denoting a tree)	Do.	Corresponding nasal is inserted. (e.g. <i>cēñkōṭū</i> .)
<i>ē</i> (of the word <i>cē</i> denoting <i>perram</i> )	Do.	Flexional increment <i>in</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>cē-v-in-kōṭū</i> .)

‘*AI*’*Case-relation Sandhi:*

<i>ai</i> (at the end of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>yāyai + kōṭū = yāyai-k-kōṭū</i> , etc.)
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*Exceptions:*

<i>ai</i> (at the end of words <i>paṇai, arai, āvirai</i> )	Do.	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>paṇa + kḍy = paṇai + am + kḍy = paṇaṇkḍy</i> .)
<i>ai</i> (at the end of <i>paṇai</i> followed by the word <i>aṭṭū</i> )		<i>ai</i> changes to <i>āa</i> . (e.g. <i>paṇāaṭṭū</i> .)
<i>ai</i> (at the end of the word <i>maḷai</i> )	Do.	<i>aṭṭū</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>maḷai-y-aṭṭū-k-konṭān</i> .)
<i>ai</i> (at the end of words denoting month and star)	Do.	Flexional increment <i>ikku</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>cittirai + konṭān = cittirai-k-konṭān</i> .)

‘*Ō*’*Non-case-relation Sandhi:*

<i>ō</i> (at the end of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>ō-k-kaṭṭū</i> .)
<i>ō</i> (at the end of nouns denoting negation, interrogation or doubt)	Do.	No change.
<i>ō</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>o</i> and one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>ō-o-k-kaṭṭumai</i> .)

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ō (followed by the word il)		<sup>1</sup> No change. (e.g. <i>kō-v-il</i> , <i>kō-y-il</i> .)
ō (at the end of some words in literature)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>on</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>kō- on-kai</i> .)

### 'AU'

<i>au</i> (both in case-relation sandhi and non-case- relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>u</i> and one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> are inserted. (e. g. <i>kau + kaṭitū = kauu-u- k-kaṭitū</i> .)
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2.1125. *The Changes when the Final Member of the Stand-  
ing word is a Consonant.*<sup>2</sup>

Final Member of the standing word	Initial Member of the following word	Change in Sandhi
Nasal	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<sup>3</sup> Corresponding nasal is substituted. (e. g. <i>maram + kuṭitū = ma- raṇkuṭitū</i> .)
<i>y, u</i>	<i>yā</i> or <i>ñā</i> .	No change. (e. g. <i>maṇ + yālla = manyālla</i> , etc.)
Any consonant preceded by a long vowel		<sup>4</sup> Generally dropped. (e. g. <i>kōl + nanyrū = kō- nanyrū</i> .)

1. Ilampūraṇar gives *kōvil* for the example and Naccipārkkī-  
ṇiyar *kōvil*; but it seems to me that *kō-il* ought to have been the ex-  
ample referred to by Tolkāppiyāṇār since he uses the word *iyaṇkai* in  
the sūtra and in his opinion (Tol. E. 141) the insertion of *u* in *uṇampūney*  
is only optional.

2. The rules noted here are mostly found in Tolkāppiyam, Eḷu-  
tatikāram, Puḷḷimayāṇkiyal, except the first four which are found in  
Tokaimarapu, 144, 147, 161.

3. This is a clear case of assimilation.

4. This generally happens when the initial member of the following  
word is a consonant.

Any consonant preceded  
by a short vowel

<sup>1</sup>The final consonant is  
doubled. (e. g. *pon* +  
*akā* = *ponnakā*.)

*ā, y, u, m, l, v* (of ver-  
bal nouns in both  
kinds of sandhi)

*k, c, t, p*

<sup>2</sup>*u* and one of *k, c, t, p*  
are inserted. (e. g.  
*uriñ* + *kaṭitū* = *uriñ-u-*  
*k-kaṭitū*.)

*ā, y, u, m, l, v* (of ver-  
bal nouns in both  
kinds of sandhi)

*ā, u, m, v*

<sup>3</sup>*u* is inserted. (e. g.  
*uriñ-u-āṅgratū*.)

*y* (in case-relation  
sandhi)

*N*

*k, c, t, p*

Changed to *t* (e.g. *may*  
+ *kuṭam* = *maṭkuṭam*.)

*Exceptions:*

*y* (of the words *āy* and  
*pey*)

Do.

No change. (e.g. *āṅkai*.)

*y* (of *āy* denoting tree)

Do.

Flexional increment *am*  
is inserted. (e.g. *āy* +  
*kōṭū* = *āy-am-kōṭū*.)

*y* (of *ay* denoting food  
in non-case-relation  
sandhi)

Do.

Optionally changes to *t*  
(e.g. *ay* + *kaṭitū* = *et-*  
*kaṭitū*.)

*m* (in case-relation  
sandhi)

*M*

*k, c, t, p*

*m* is dropped and the  
succeeding consonant  
is doubled. (e. g.  
*maram* + *kōṭū* = *mara-*  
*k-kōṭū*.)

Do.

*a* or *ā*

*m* is dropped and the  
preceding *a* is option-  
ally lengthened or is  
followed by inter-  
vocalic *v*. (e.g. *maram*  
+ *aṭi* = *marā-aṭi*<sup>4</sup> or  
*maravati*.)

1. This generally happens when the initial member of the following word is a vowel.

2 & 3. These may be called cases of epenthesis according to Vendreyes (cf. *Language*, p. 61) though Brugman gives the same name to a slightly different phenomenon.

4. This is a case of hiatus; but now *āa* is pronounced like *plata* in Sanskrit.

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<i>m</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and sometimes the corresponding nasal is inserted instead of <i>k, c, t, p</i> , (e.g. <i>kuḷam + karai = kuḷakkarai</i> or <i>kuḷaṅkarai</i> .)
<i>m</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>m</i> is changed to the nasal corresponding to <i>k, c, t, p</i> . (e.g. <i>maram + kuṟitū = maraṅkuṟitū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>āyiram</i> )	word denoting number	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āyiram + onṟū = āyirattuonṟū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>āyiram</i> )	word denoting measure and weight beginning with <i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>k, c, t, p</i> are doubled. (e.g. <i>āyiram + pāṇai = āyirap-pāṇai</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>num</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<sup>1</sup> <i>m</i> is dropped and the nasal corresponding to <i>k, c, t, p</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>num + kai = nuṅkai</i> .)
<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>m</i> is shortened to $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā. (e.g. <i>vilam + valitū = vilamṅvalitū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of words denoting star)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>attu</i> and <i>āṇ</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>makam + koṇṭāṇ = makattāṇkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)
* <i>N</i> *		
<i>ṇ</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	changed to <i>ṇ</i> . (e.g. <i>poṇ-kuṭam = poṇkuṭam</i> .)
<i>ṇ</i> (of words <i>maṇ, ciṇ, āṇ, iṇ, muṇ, piṇ</i> of verbal participle)	Do.	changed to <i>ṇ</i> . (e.g. <i>piṇkoṇṭāṇ = piṇkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)

1. This is may be otherwise stated that *m* is assimilated to *k, c, t, p*.



<i>y</i> (of <i>avayay</i> , <i>ivayay</i> , <i>uvayay</i> , <i>evayay</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	changed to <i>r</i>
<i>y</i> (of <i>my</i> )	Do.	Optionally changed to <i>r</i> . (e. g. <i>mīrkoṇṭāy</i> or <i>mīrkoṇṭāy</i> .)
<i>y</i> (of <i>tāy</i> )	Do.	(1) No change; (2) <i>y</i> is changed to <i>r</i> ; (3) <i>y</i> is dropped and the following consonant is doubled; or (4) nasal is inserted. (e. g. <i>tēykuṭam</i> , <i>tēykuṭam</i> , <i>tēykuṭam</i> or <i>tēyku- ṭam</i> .)
<i>y</i> (of words <i>my</i> , <i>py</i> , <i>py</i> and <i>ky</i> )	Do.	<i>n</i> and <i>k, c, t, p</i> are insert- ed. (e. g. <i>mīyṇ-k-</i> <i>kaṭumai</i> .)
<i>y</i> (of the word <i>cāṭṭay</i> ) the name of a person)	<i>tantai</i> (de- noting re- lationship)	<sup>1</sup> <i>ay</i> of <i>cāṭṭay</i> is dropped. (e. g. <i>cāṭṭay + tantai =</i> <i>cāṭṭantai</i> .)
<i>y</i> (of the words <i>āṭay</i> and <i>pāṭay</i> )	Do.	<sup>2</sup> Do. (e.g. <i>āṭay + tantai =</i> <i>āṭantai</i> .)
<i>y</i> (of <i>tāy</i> , <i>pāy</i> , <i>kāy</i> )	<i>tantai</i> (denoting relationship)	<sup>3</sup> No change. (e.g. <i>tāy +</i> <i>tantai = tāyṇantai</i> .)
<i>y</i> (of <i>tāy</i> , <i>yāy</i> in case- relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>tāy</i> is changed to <i>taṇ</i> and <i>yāy</i> to <i>ey</i> . (e.g. <i>tāy + ai = taṇṇai</i> , <i>yāy</i> <i>+ ai = eyṇai</i> .)
<i>y</i> (of <i>tāy</i> , <i>yāy</i> in non- case-relation sandhi)	Do.	No change.
<i>y</i> (of <i>my</i> )	<i>il</i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>r</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>myrṇil</i> .)

1 & 2. These are cases of *haplology*.

3. Though 'y' does not change here, 'r' of the following word changes to 'r'.

4. Here the words *il* and *my* are first of all interchanged. This may be taken as a case of *metathesis* of whole words.

ʒ (of <i>aḷay</i> )	<i>k, c, l, p</i>	ʒ is dropped and the succeeding consonant is doubled. (e.g. <i>aḷay-kuṭam</i> = <i>aḷakkūṭam</i> .)
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## ‘Y’

y (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, l, p</i>	<i>k, c, l, p</i> are respectively inserted, and in some cases <i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are also respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>uḍy + kāl</i> = <i>uḍykkāl</i> ; <i>vēy + kuṭai</i> = <i>vēyṭṭuṭai</i> , <i>vēyūkuṭai</i> .)
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## Exceptions:

y (of the word <i>lāy</i> )	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>lāykal</i> )
y (of the word <i>kāy</i> preceded by <i>maṭay</i> )	Do.	<i>k, c, l, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>maṭay-rāyṭṭakāl</i> .)

## Non-case-relation Sandhi:

y	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>uḍy-kaṭṭi</i> .)
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## ‘R’

r (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, l, p</i>	<i>k, c, l, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tēr + kāl</i> = <i>tērkāl</i> .)
r (in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	No change.
r (of words <i>ār, vāṭir, cār</i> and <i>ṭir</i> )	Do.	<i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
r (of <i>cār</i> )	<i>k</i> of <i>kāl</i>	<i>k</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>cār-kāl</i> .)
r (of <i>ṭir</i> )	<i>k, c, l, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>ṭir + kōṭṭu</i> = <i>ṭir-aṇ-kōṭṭu</i> .)

## ‘L’

l (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, l, p</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kāl + kuṭai</i> = <i>karṭṭuṭai</i> .)
Do.	<i>ñ, ñ̃, n, m</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>y</i> . (e.g. <i>kāl + muri</i> = <i>kaṇmuri</i> .)

<i>l</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Either no change or <i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e. g. <i>kal + kuritū = kalkuritū</i> or <i>karukuritū</i> .)
Do.	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i> is optionally changed to <i>ṣ</i> when <i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> . (e.g. <i>kal + lītū = kaṣṛītū</i> or <i>karṛītū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>nel, cel, kol</i> and <i>col</i> in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>r</i> .
<i>l</i> (of <i>il</i> denoting negation)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted with <i>ai</i> or <i>a</i> before it; or no change. (e. g. <i>il + korṛay = ilaikkorṛay</i> ; <i>il-lākkorṛay</i> , <i>il-lakkorṛay</i> ; <i>en + il + kuṇam = ennil-kuṇam</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i> )	Do.	<i>n</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>val + kaṭitū = valla-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i> followed by <i>nāy</i> and <i>palakai</i> )		<i>a</i> alone or <i>a</i> and <i>p</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>vallanāy</i> ; <i>valla-p-palakai</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>pāl</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>pāl + kōṭū = pālāṁkōṭū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>peyil</i> )	Do.	<i>attu</i> is inserted.
	<i>v</i>	
<i>v</i> (of <i>av, iv, uv</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>varru</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>av + kōṭū = av-varru-kōṭū = avaruṁkōṭū</i> .)
<i>v</i> (of non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>v</i> is changed to <i>ṣ</i> (e.g. <i>av + kaṭiya = aṣkaṭiya</i> .)
<i>v</i>	<i>ā, n, m</i>	<i>ā, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>v</i>	semi-vowels or vowels,	No change.

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<i>v</i> (of <i>lev</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>u</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted (e. g. <i>lev + kaṭitū = lev-u-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
	‘ <i>L</i> ’	
<i>l̥</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>pāl̥ + kāl̥ = pāl̥-k-kāl̥</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of the word <i>tāl̥</i> )	<i>k</i> of the word <i>kāl̥</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>tāl̥akkūl̥</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of the word <i>tamil̥</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>tamil̥ + kāl̥tū = tamil̥-akkāl̥tū</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of the word <i>pāl̥</i> )	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> or <i>ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>pāl̥-k-kinārū, pāl̥-ñ-kinārū</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of <i>ēl̥</i> )	Do.	<i>ay</i> is inserted. ( <i>ēl̥ + kāyam = ēl̥aykāyam</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of <i>ēl̥</i> when followed by words denoting measure and weight)		<i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> and <i>u</i> is inserted after <i>l̥</i> . (e.g. <i>ēlu-kalam</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of <i>ēl̥</i> when followed by <i>āyiram</i> )		only <i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> . (e. g. <i>ēl̥ + āyiram = ēl̥āyiram</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of <i>ēl̥</i> when followed by <i>nūṟāyiram</i> )		No change. (e.g. <i>ēl̥nūṟāyiram</i> .)
<i>l̥</i> (of <i>ēl̥</i> when followed by <i>tāmarai, veḷlam, āmpal</i> denoting number)		No change.
<i>l̥</i>	Vowels.	No change.
<i>l̥</i> (of <i>kāl̥</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted. (e.g. <i>kūḷkūlam</i> or <i>kūḷkūlam</i> .)
	‘ <i>L</i> ’	
<i>l̥</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l̥</i> is changed to <i>l̥</i> . (e. g. <i>mut̥ + kurai = mut̥-kurai</i> .)

1. In Modern Tamil, *ēl̥āyiram* is used instead of *ēl̥āyiram*. But on the other hand, *ēl̥uṟū* is used instead of *ēl̥sūṟū*.

l̥ (in case-relation sandhi)	ā, u, m	is changed to p. (e. g. <i>maḷ + maram = maṇṇ-maram</i> .) <sup>1</sup>
l̥ (in non-case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	Either no change or is changed to f. (e. g. <i>maḷ-kaṭitū</i> or <i>maḷ-kaṭitū</i> .)
Do.	t	<sup>2</sup> is also changed to ā while t is changed to f. (e.g. <i>maḷ + tītū = maḷ-tītū</i> ; also <i>maḷ-tītū</i> .)
l̥ (of the word <i>iruḷ</i> )	k, c, t, p	<i>attu</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>iruattukkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)
l̥ (of <i>puḷ</i> and <i>vaḷ</i> )	Do.	n and one of k, c, t, p respectively are inserted. (e. g. <i>puḷukkakaṭitū</i> etc.)

2.1126. The changes when the final member of the standing word is ā.

Non-case-relation sandhi<sup>3</sup>.

ā	k, c, t, p	No change. (e. g. <i>nāka-kaṭitū</i> .)
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Exceptions:

ā (at the end of words like <sup>4</sup> <i>kokkū, pākkū</i> , where there is doubling of consonant in the middle)	Do.	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kokkū + kaṭitū = kokkū-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
ā (at the end of words beginning with demonstrative roots <i>a, i</i> and <i>u</i> lengthened and the interrogative <i>yā</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	Do.	Do. (e. g. <i>ānku + koṇṭāṇ = ānku-k-koṇṭāṇ</i> .)

1. In modern days we find the word *maḷmaram* also.

2. This is a case of both progressive and regressive assimilation.

3. *Allatū kiḷappi n-ēlā moliyuṇ*

*Colliya paṇṇi n-iyarṅai yākkum*. (Tol. E. 426.)

4. *Vallorṅū-t loṭar-moḷi valḷeḷuttu mikunā*. (Ibid. 427.)

5. *Caṇṇu-c-cigai nēṇiya meṇṇetar moliyum*

*Yā-viṇṇū mutaliya meṇṇetar moliyum*

*Ā-yiṇa ṇiriyā valḷeḷut tiyarṅai*. (Ibid. 428.)

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ā (at the end of words beginning with interrogative yā) <sup>1</sup>	k, c, t, p	Optionally no change. (e. g. yāñkū-kōṇṭāṇ)
<i>Case-relation sandhi:</i>		
ā (at the end of words with <sup>2</sup> a single long vowel or with two or more vowels other than ā in the word)	Do.	k, c, t, p are respectively inserted. (e. g. yāñ + kāl = yāññ-k-kāl; varakū + cēṭi = varakū-c-cēṭi.)
ā (at the end of words with <sup>3</sup> a conjunct consonant or ā in the middle)	Do.	No change. (e. g. teṭkū-kāl or cākkū-kāl.)
ā <sup>4</sup> (at the end of words having a double voiceless consonant in the middle or a voiceless consonant preceded by a like nasal) <sup>4</sup>	k, c, t, p	k, c, t, p are inserted respectively; in the second case, the voiced consonant in the middle is optionally made voiceless. (e. g. kakkū-k-kāl; kurakkū-k-kāl; kurākkū-k-kāl.)
ā <sup>5</sup>	y	ā is changed to i. (e. g. nākkū + yōtū = nākiyātū.
ā (at the end of words <sup>6</sup> denoting trees)	k, c, t, p	Flexional increment am is inserted. (e. g. teṭkū + kūy = teṭkakkūy). <sup>7</sup>

1. Yā-viñā mōṭiyā y-iyaṭpu m-ākam, (ibid. +29.)

2. Īcēluttū mōṭiyu m-uyir-t-tōṭar mōṭiyum  
Vāṇṭumai y-āpi y-ōṇṭat y-iñ-a-mikat  
Tōṇṭam vāṇṭum vāṇṭuttū mikuti, (ibid. 412.)

3. Nāi-y-ōṇṭ-t tōṭaru m-āyā-t tōṭarum  
Nāṭaiyū yipala v-ōṇṭaṇṭār pulavar, (ibid. 414.)

4. Vāṇṭōṭar mōṭiyu mēyṭōṭar mōṭiyum  
Vāṇṭa vāṇṭut t-ōṇṭai mikumē  
Mēlōṇṭ-t tōṭar-mōṭi mēlōy y-ellōm  
Vāṇṭ y-iṇṭi-kūṭai-y-ōy ṭākam, (ibid. 415.)

5. Yākaram varu-vāṭi y-ikarāṇ kūṇṭukum  
Ukarāṇ kiṇṭai tuvarā-t tōṇṭārū, (ibid. 411.)

6. Māra-p-peyar-k kiṇṭai-k k-ammē cāriyai, (ibid. 416.)

7. In the example teṭkakkūy three points are worth noting :—(1) when ā of teṭkū is joined with a of am, ā is dropped. Whenever ā is

ā (of <i>puṅkū</i> , etc.) <sup>1</sup>	k, c, t, p	<sup>2</sup> <i>am</i> is inserted; but the medial nasal is not changed to the corresponding voiceless consonant. (e. g. <i>puṅkū</i> + <i>kōṭū</i> = <i>puṅkañkōṭū</i> .)
ā (of <i>aśū</i> , <i>iśū</i> , <i>vāśū</i> in <sup>3</sup> non - case - relation sandhi)	any vowel	No change.
Da. <sup>4</sup>	any consonant.	ā is dropped.

Tolkāppiyāṇār explains in about 50 sūtras the changes which ā at the end of Tamil numbers from one to thousand undergoes when it is followed by words denoting number, measure and weight. Here two sūtras dealing with the formation of the words *toṅṅūṇū* (ninety) and *toḷḷōyiram* (nine hundred) are worth-noting. They are—

*Oṅpā y-ōkaramicai-t takara moṟṟum*  
*Muntai y-ōṟṟē pakāra m-iraiṟum*  
*Pakkēy kiḷari y-ōṟṟa-paka rañ-kaṭa*

followed by a vowel, it is dropped. But this rule is not given in *kuṟṟi-yalukara-p-puṇariyal*. In *puṇariyal* there is a sūtra '*kuṟṟiya l-uḱaramu m-ōṟṟēna molipā*' (Tol. E. 106) where the commentator Ilampūraṇār says that it allows itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel as a consonant does, but this commentary does not suit well since the consonant sound does not allow itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel. (2) *Tēkkakñāy* is now used as *tēñkñāy*; this is an illustration of haplology. (3) The ē in *tēñkñāy* is the lengthened form of *e* in *tēñkñā*; the lengthening here ought to have been done as compensation for the loss of the succeeding sounds; the same cannot be said of ē in *tēkkakñāy*.

1. *Meiḷoṟṟu valiyā mara-p-peyaru m-uḷavē*. (Tol. E. 417.)

2. It is worthy of note that *u* in *puṅkū* is not assimilated to *k* and consequently changed to *ā*; but, in modern days, in spoken Tamil it is changed to *ā* also.

3. *Muṅṅu-uyir varum-iṭa-t t-āyṭa-p paḷḷi*

*Muṅṅal vēṇu m-aiṭaḷi y-ōṟṟa*. (Tol. E. 424.)

4. *Ēṇai-muṅ varinē tēṇilai y-ōṟṟē*. (ibid. 425.)

*Nirral vēṇṭu mukkāṇak kiṭavi*  
*Oṟṟiya laḥaram yaḥara m-āḥum.* (Tol. E. 446.)  
*Oṇṇē muntanilai muntū-kilan tarrē*  
*Mūntai y-oṟṟē laḥāra m-iraiṭṭum*  
*Nūṇē kiṭavi nakāra mey-keṭa*  
*Ū-v-ā v-āku m-iyarṭhai-t t-ēṇṇa*  
*Āṇṇai varuṭa t-iḥāra vakāram*  
*Īṇmey keṭuttu makara m-oṟṟum.* (ibid. 464.)

The former may be translated as follows :—

When *oṇṇatū* is combined with *paatū*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *oṇṇatū*, *ṇṇ* is substituted for *y*, *pa* is dropped, *ū* is inserted after *ṇṇ* and *t* of *paatū* is replaced by *r*. Hence the form *toṇṇūrū*. (Here no mention is made of the dropping of *patū* in *oṇṇatū*; but it seems to me that it has been dropped on account of the same word *paatū* following it.) The latter sūtra may be translated as follows:—When *oṇṇatū* is combined with *nārū*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *oṇṇatū*, *ṇṇ* is substituted for *y*, *n* of *nārū* is dropped, *ā* is replaced by *ā* followed by *ira* and *ru* is replaced by *m*. Hence *toṇṇā-ira-m=toṇṇā-y-īram*, *y* being intervocalic. (Here also no mention is made of the loss of *patū* in *oṇṇatū*.)

These two sūtras clearly show that the derivation of the two words *toṇṇūrū* and *toṇṇāyiram* was forgotten even at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār.

In the last but one sūtra of Eḷuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyāṇār states that the sandhi that takes place between *uriccol* and a following word, between the two members of *paṇṇu-t-tokai* and *viṇai-t-tokai*, and between a word denoting a number and the same word, does not follow the rules already mentioned, and that it must be found out from usage. (e.g. *veḷ eṇa veḷuttatū* becomes *veḷveḷuttatū*; *kariyatū + kutirai* becomes *karuṇṇakutirai*; *koṇṇa + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *kollum + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *pāttū + pāttū* becomes *pappāttū* or *paṇṇāttū*.)

2.12. *Medieval Period*: 2.121. The author of Vīra-cōliyam explains sandhi in 18 stanzas in *Caṇṭippaṭalam*. Instead of the terms *meypūṇṇāṭal*, *mikatai*, and *kuṇṇai* adopted by Tolkāppiyāṇār, he respectively mentions *āḍēṣa*, *iḷgama*, and *iḷpa*.



This clearly shows that he wanted to import terms current in Sanskrit grammar in preference to Tamil terms. He prefers the term *śiṣā* used in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to the term *śikṣā* used in Prātiśākhya.

He then summarises the general views of Tolkāppiyāṇār in a clumsy fashion so as to suit the verse-form, and adds a few more not found in Tolkāppiyam. The substance of the following sūtras in Eḷuttatikāram of Tolkāppiyam is briefly mentioned in the stanzas 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 to 22 and 24 to 28.

Stanza No. in Cantippaṭalam of      Sūtra No. in Eḷuttatikāram.

Viracōliyam.

14	151, 161, 358, 363, 384
16	397, 398
17	367, 368, 150
19	311, 312, 315, 331
20	150, 204, 222, 244, 250, 253, 255, 265, 274, 275, 277, 281, 283, 290
21	415
22	303, 333, 398
24	206, 207, 209, 239, 257
25	82 312, 368, 398,
26	259, 390
27	174 to 203
28	150, 151.

In the 11th stanza he mentions that the negative particle *na* (of Sanskrit) loses its *n* before a consonant and it becomes *an* before a vowel. (cf. *na + brāhmaṇaḥ = a-brāhmaṇaḥ*; *na + indraḥ = anindraḥ*.)<sup>1</sup> In the 12th, he mentions *gaṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters (as found in Sanskrit) and says that they appear in words having *taddhita* suffix as *caruṇ*. These points found in Sanskrit grammar have no place in a treatise on Tamil grammar. Still he seems to have mentioned them since such Sanskrit words

1. Cf. *na + iṣṭa naṣṭaḥ* (P. A. 6.3.73) and *tasmānnaḥ aci* (P. A. 6.3. 74).

as are governed by these rules were found in plenty in the Tamil literature of his time. But all these words like *abrāhmaṇa*, *anindra*, *ramēśa*, *śaiva* must have been borrowed as they were in Sanskrit. Hence no adequate justification can be found in the strict requirements of Tamil language and grammar for formulating these rules.

In stanza 13 he definitely mentions that, if the standing word ends in *i*, *ī* or *ai*, and if the following word commences with a vowel, *y* is inserted between them; if it is *ē*, either *y* or *v* is inserted and if it is any other vowel, *v* is inserted. This is evidently an improvement upon *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, since the latter has stated only that an *uṭampaluney* may be inserted between two vowels (Tol. E. 141) and *v* is inserted after the demonstrative roots and before vowels as *a-v-v-āṭai*, *i-v-v-āṭai*, etc. (Tol. E. 208, 239 & 256.) The author of *Viracōliyam* may have gone through the literature written before his time and stated this law from the examples available from them, of which some are given below.

‘I’

1. *Maṇi + ampalattuḷ = maṇi-y-ampalattuḷ* (T.A.S. 1.3.4).
2. *Kumari + iṇ = kumari-y-iṇ* (P.N. 6.2).
3. *Uvavumati + uruviṇ = uvavumati-y-uruviṇ* (P.N. 3.1).
4. *Iṭi + eṇa = iṭi-y-eṇa* (P.N. 17.39).
5. *Puravi + aivarotiṇ = puravi-y-aivarotiṇ* (P.N. 2.13).
6. *Puravi + oṭu = puravi-y-oṭu* (P.N. 16.1).

N.B.—But after the demonstrative *i* only *v* is inserted. e.g.  
*i + aṇ = i-v-aṇ*.

‘I’

1. *Ti + aḷavā = ti-y-aḷavā* (K. 747).
2. *Ni + ākal-vēṇṭiṇṇu = ni-y-ākal-vēṇṭiṇṇu* (P.N. 18.15).
3. *Ti + um = ti-y-um* (P.N. 2.4).
4. *Ni + ē = ni-y-ē* (P.N. 4.13).
5. *Ni + ō = ni-y-ō* (P.N. 5.3).

‘AI’

1. *Erumai + aṇṇa = erumai-y-aṇṇa* (P.N. 5.1).
2. *Enkuvai + āyiṇ = enkuvai-y-āyiṇ* (P.N. 13.1).

3. *Ticai + irundāṇkam = ticai-y-irundāṇkam* (P.N. 41.4).
4. *Tāṇai + um = tāṇai-y-um* (P.N. 161.31).
5. *Māṭamālīkai + eṭukka = māṭamālīkai-y-eṭukka*  
(S.I.I. ii, 521).

## ‘E’

1. *Tānē + atu = tānē-y-atu* (P.N. 5.8).
2. *Koṭuttōrē + unṭi = koṭuttōrē-y-unṭi* (P.N. 18.20).
3. *Tāmē + ūrtorum = tāmē-y-ūrtorum* (P.N. 52.8).
4. *Cē + aṭi = cē-v-aṭi* (Pattu. 5.62).
5. *Ē + uṟumaññaiyiy = ē-v-uṟumaññaiyiy* (Pattu. 197.84).

*Note.*—Only *y* is inserted in most of the cases ; *v* is rarely inserted.

## ‘A’

1. *Ammā + ivay = amma-v-ivay* (P.N. 18.29).
2. *Unṭākiya + uyarmannum = unṭākiya-v-uyarmannum*  
(P.N. 17.24).
3. *Neṭiya + enṇātū = neṭiya-v-enṇātū* (P.N. 47.2).
4. *Niṭayra + ēmamuracam = niṭayra-v-ēmamuracam*  
(P.N. 3.3).
5. *Pōla + ōvātū = pōla-v-ōvātū* (P.N. 4.19).

## ‘Ā’

1. *Vārā + aḷavai = vārā-v-aḷavai* (P.N. 50.6).
2. *Ā + iṇ + ku = ā-v-iṇ-kū* (K. 1066).
3. *Tavirā + ikai = tavirā-v-ikai* (P.N. 3.5).
4. *Kalañkō + uḷam = kalañkō-v-uḷam* (Cilap. 4.70).
5. *Mā + ē = mā-v-ē* (P.N. 4.7).

## ‘U’

1. *U + ay = u-v-ay* (Tol. Col. 162).
2. *Maru + iṇri = maru-v-iṇri* (Cilap. 5.39).
3. *Valiṭaṭu + ōr = valiṭaṭu-v-ōr* (P.N. 10.1).

## ‘Ū’

1. *Tū + ē + kuḷavi = tū-v-ū-k-kuḷavi* (P.N. 379.15).

*E* and *o*, it has already been stated, are very rare as finals of roots or nouns.

In stanza 15 he mentions that if *l* or *ḷ* is followed by *t*, it is changed to *ḷ* and consequently *t* also is changed to *ḷ* and in some cases one of the two *ḷ*'s is dropped. This dropping of one of the two *ḷ*'s when the vowel preceding *ḷ* is short is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. e.g. *aruṁporuḷ + tarūnu* becomes *aruṁporuḷ-arūnu* in Cilap. 24 where *ḷ* is changed to *ḷ* and then dropped. I carefully ransacked several works written before his time, but I could not find one example in them where *ḷ* is changed to *ḷ* or is dropped. In the first stanza in Kantapurāṇam, a later work, *likāḷ + taṇakkaram* becomes *likaṇaṇakkaram* where *ḷ* is dropped after changing the succeeding *t* to *ḷ*. In Kamparāmāyaṇam, a work written after Viracōḷiyam *kīḷ + ticaḷ* becomes *kīṭṭicaḷ*, (Kampar. C. Kaṭalāvu. 39) where *ḷ* is changed to *ḷ*.

In stanza 18, he says that, if *ḷ* is followed by *n*, *ḷ* is dropped and *n* changes to *ṇ*. e.g. *vāḷ + nāḷ = vāṇāḷ*. Cf. *vāṇaḷ annāḷ* (Kampar. C. Ūrtēṭu. 75). Similarly he says that, if *ḷ* is followed by a voiceless consonant, it is changed to *ḷ* or *ṇ* and if it is followed by *m*, it is changed to *ṇ*. These points are not found in Tolkāppiyam.

In stanza 23 he says that the ādēśas of *oruḷ*, *iraṇṇā*, *māṇṇā*, *nāṇā*, *aiṇṇā*, *āṇā*, *ēḷ*, *ēḷṇā*, *oṇṇāḷ*, *paḷṇā* and *nāṇṇā* are respectively *oru*, *or*; *iru*, *ir*; *nu*, *nū*; *nāṇṇā*; *ai*; *aṇ*; *ēḷ*; *ēṇ*; *oṇṇāḷ*; *ton*, *toṇ*; *pāṇ*, *paṇ*; *nāṇṇā*, *paṇṇā*, *paṇṇā* and *āyiram*. This is only a brief summary of the rules in Tolkāppiyam dealing with the sandhi of numbers mentioned in *kurṇiyalukara-p-puṇarīyal*. One point to be noted here is that he does not indulge in any fanciful derivation of *toṇṇāḷ* and *toḷṇāyiram* like Tolkāppiyaṇār but explains them as formed out of *tol* and *nāṇṇā*, and *tol* and *āyiram*, though he fancies that *tol* and *nāṇṇā* are ādēśas of *oṇṇāḷ* and *paḷṇā* in the former and *tol* and *āyiram* are the ādēśas of *oṇṇāḷ* and *nāṇṇā* in the latter.

He has not divided sandhi into the two classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, as Tolkāppiyaṇār has done. This is perhaps due to the fact that such a division is not found in Sanskrit Grammar. But considering the points of difference in sandhi between two words in Tamil when the

former is in case-relation with the latter or otherwise, I find it difficult to understand why he has omitted it.

2.122. The author of Nēminātam has given 15 stanzas on sandhi of which about 10 are almost identical with Vīracōḷiyam in substance. Three of them contain the same matter as in Tolkāppiyam. He gives like the author of Vīracōḷiyam, the *guṇa* and *ṛddhi* letters applicable to Sanskrit words, but differs from him in his statement that if the standing word ends in *ē*, only *v* is inserted if it is followed by a vowel. He gives some more rules, e.g. *v* of *tev* is changed to *m* if it is followed by *m*.

2.123. The author of Nannūḷ has skilfully summarised all the sūtras of Tolkāppiyam on sandhi with the additions mentioned by ḷampūraṇar, the authors of Vīracōḷiyam and Nēminātam with reference to pure Tamil words, with slight changes here and there.

2.1231. *The important points where Nannūḷār differs from Tolkāppiyaṇār*:—(1) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi if the standing word ends in *y*<sup>1</sup>; but Nannūḷār says that if *y* is preceded by a short vowel and followed by a nasal, the same nasal is inserted.<sup>2</sup> (e.g. *ney* + *ñāṇṇatū* = *ney-ñ-ñāṇṇatū*.)

(2) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, if the demonstrative roots are followed by consonants, they are doubled; but Nannūḷār adds the interrogative *e* also as *e-k-kōṇṇaṇ* and also says that if the demonstrative root is lengthened and is followed by a vowel, *y* but not *v*, is inserted;<sup>3</sup> this is not mentioned by

1. *Alvaḷi y-eḷḷē m-iyalpeṇa maḷiṇa*. (Tol. E. 362.)

2. *En-mū v-eḷuttir e-erukaḷ maḷikkum*  
*Muṇ-vaṇu ṇa-na-ma-ya va-k-ka i-iyalpum*  
*Kuṇṇi-vaḷi y-a-t-taṇi y-a-t-a-nōṇu muṇ-meli*  
*Mikalum-ām na-ḷa-ṇa-la vaḷi-na-t tiriyum*. (Na. 158.)

3. *Ekara vīṇa-mu-t cuṇṇiṇ muṇṇar*  
*Uṇṇum yakaram-u m-eytiṇ va-v-u-um*  
*Piṇa-vari ṇ-a-maiyum iḷḷḷiṇ cuṇṇu*  
*Niḷiṇ yakaram-um iḷḷḷiṇ neri-y-ē*. (Ibid. 163.)

Tolkāppiyāṇār though he has used it in his first sūtra in Collatīkāram 'ā-y-irutiṇaiyīṇ iaiṅkumaya collē'.

(3) Tolkāppiyāṇār has not definitely stated that ā at the end of the standing word is dropped if it is followed by a vowel; Naṇṇūlār has definitely stated it. He may have taken it from Ḥampūraṇar's commentary on the sūtra 'kurṇiya iṅkaranu maṇṇa molipa' (Tol. E. 106).

(4) Tolkāppiyāṇār states that when the word *pala* is followed by the same word, the two become *pala-pala*, *pala-p-pala* or *paṇṇala*. Ḥampūraṇar adds the word *cila* also to that category and continues that when *pala* and *cila* are followed by other words also, they optionally lose the final *a*. (e. g. *pala-kalai*, *pal-kalai*; *cila-vaṭai*, *cil-vaṭai*, etc.) Naṇṇūlār agrees with both<sup>1</sup>.

(5) Tolkāppiyāṇār says that *i* of verbal participle *iṇṇi* is changed to *u* in verse. Naṇṇūlār adds the word *aṇṇi* also.<sup>2</sup>

(6) Naṇṇūlār says that, if the word *uri* is followed by certain words, *ya* is inserted between them, as *uri + uṇṇū = uri-ya-uṇṇū*; *uri + payaṇṇū = uri-ya-payaṇṇū*.<sup>3</sup> This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār or by the author of Viracōḷiyam.

(7) Naṇṇūlār says that there are certain words ending in ā which take the flexional increment *ai* in sandhi. (e. g. *paṇṇū + kalam = paṇṇaikalam*; *iṇṇū + nāl = iṇṇaināl*)<sup>4</sup>. This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār.

(8) Naṇṇūlār exactly agrees with the author of Viracōḷiyam as regards *uṭampaiṇmey* or intervocalic consonant, which Tolkāppiyāṇār has not clearly stated.

1. *Pala-cila v-eṇṇu-m-iaai tam-muṇ tām-varin*  
*Iyāḷum mīkalum ākara m-ēka*  
*Lakaram ṇakara m-ākalum piya-varin*  
*Ākaram uṇṇaṇṇa m-ākalu m-uṇa-piya.* (ibid. 170.)
2. *Aṇṇi y-iṇṇi-yeṇ viṇai-y-eñ c-iṅkaram*  
*Toṇṇiṇṇa iṅkara m-āy-vari y-iṇṇaḷ.* (ibid. 173.)
3. *Uri-vari vāḷiyi y-iṇṇuṇṇiṇṇi mey-kēṇ*  
*Maruvum ṇakara m-uriniṇṇi vāḷiyē*  
*Yakara u-uyir-mey-ū m-ēṇṇaṇṇa varinē.* (ibid. 174.)
4. *Āi-y-iṇṇi vaṭai-k-kuṇ ṇakaram-u m-uṇaṇṇ.* (ibid. 185.)

(9) Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, when both the standing word and the following word denote directions, the final *ū* with the preceding consonants is dropped, and if the standing word is *terkū*, *r* also is changed to *n*.<sup>1</sup> (cf. *ten-mērkū*.) Ḥampūraṇār adds under the same sūtra that, even if the following word does not denote direction, the same change takes place (as *vaṭakūṭal*) and also *r* of *mērkū* is changed to *t* as *mēl+kārai*. Nannūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>2</sup>

(10) Nannūlār says that, if *teṅkū* is the standing word and *kāy* is the following word, *kū* is dropped and *e* is lengthened.<sup>3</sup> (e.g. *teṅkū+kāy=teṅkāy*.)<sup>4</sup>

(11) Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, if the word *pattū* is followed by *onṇū*, *mūṇṇū*, *nūṅkū...eṭṭū*, *tū* of *pattū* is dropped and the flexional increment *in* is inserted.<sup>5</sup> (e.g. *pattū+onṇū=pat-in-onṇū*, etc.) Ḥampūraṇār adds the flexional increment *irṇu* also. Nannūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>6</sup>

1. *Tiripu-āṇṇū kilappi v-onṇū m-iṇṇūti-y-nū*  
*Kaṭṭal vāṇṇu m-onṇavār paṭavar*  
*Onṇu-mey tirintu pakāra m-āṅku*  
*Taṅkaṭṭu paṇarūṭ kōḷai y-āṇa.* (Tol. E. 433.)
2. *Ticai-y-eṭṭū ticai-yum piṇa-v-nū cēriṅ*  
*Nilai-y-iṇṇu ruyir-mey ka-v-v-onṇū nūṅkalum*  
*Rakaram pa-la-v-ū-t tiritalu m-ām-piṇa.* (Na. 186.)
3. *Teṅkum-iṇṇu iṇṇuyir mey-kēṭṭū kāy-varinṇu.* (ibid. 187.)
4. This lengthening of the vowel is evidently due to compensating the loss of 'kū'.
5. *Onṇū-muta l-āka v-eṭṭa v-iṇṇūti*  
*Eḷḷā v-eṇṇum paṭṭaṇṇu mūṇṇu-varinṇu*  
*Kuṇṇiya-lukara meyṇṇūṇṇu kēṭṭumē*  
*Mūṇṇa v-iṇṇu-varūṇ m-irāṇṇalaṇṇu kaṭai-y-i.* (Tol. E. 434.)
6. *Onṇū-muta l-āraṇṇu t-āyirāṇṇu kōṭṭi*  
*Eṇṇūṇṇai paṭṭum piṇa-varinṇu paṭṭinṇu*  
*Iṇṇuyir mey-kēṭṭu t-iṇṇu-v-n m-iṇṇum*  
*Ḥiṇṇa t-āṅku m-onṇapattū m-iṇṇaitṭē.* (Na. 197.)

(12) Nannūlār says that, if the standing word ends in a consonant other than *y* and the following word begins with *yā*, *i* is sometimes inserted.<sup>1</sup> (e.g. *vēl + yāvan = vēliyāvan*.)<sup>2</sup>

(13) Tolkāppiyāṇār says that, if the word *ekin* not denoting a tree is the standing word, it takes after it the flexional increment *a*, and then the initial voiceless consonant of the following word is doubled.<sup>3</sup> (e. g. *ekin + kāl = ekin-a-k-kāl*.) Ilampūṇaṇar adds that, instead of the same voiceless consonant being doubled, the corresponding nasal may be inserted, as *ekin-a-ñ-kāl*. Nannūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>4</sup>

(14) If the standing word ends in *y*, *r* or *l* and the initial member of the following word is *k*, *c*, *t* or *p*, there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi according to Tolkāppiyāṇār, and the same consonant may be doubled according to the author of Viracōliyam. Nannūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>5</sup>

(15) Nannūlār says that, if the word *tev* is followed by a word beginning with *m*, *v* is changed to *m*. (e.g. *tev + munai = temunṇai*.)<sup>6</sup> But this is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār. This, he has adopted from Nēminātam.

(16) As regards the formation of *tonṇūru* and *tolṇāyiram*, Nannūlār agrees with the author of Viracōliyam in substituting

1. *Taṇ-ṇ-oli meṇ-m-muṇ ya-vvari ṇ-ikaram*  
*Taṇṇu m-mṇrū tuṇṇaru m-uṇarē.* (ibid. 206.)

2. This insertion of 'y' is perhaps through analogy with the insertion of 'i' when such words as *khyāti* are tamilsed into *kīyāti*.

3. *Ḫṇai y-ekin-ē yakāram varum-ē*  
*Vaileḷṇu t-iyaṇḱai mikutai vēṇṭum.* (Tol. E. 338.)

4. *Marum-al l-ekin-moḷi y-iyaḷṇun akaram*  
*Maruva nali-meli mikalu m-ākum.* (Na. 215.)

5. *Ya-ra-ḷa muṇṇar-k ka-ca-ta-pa alvaḷi*  
*Iyaḷṇu mikalu m-ākum vēṇṇamai*  
*Mikalu m-iṇṇatīḍ t-yaḷṇatum viti-mēl.* (Na. 224.)

6. *Tev-v-ṇ moḷiyē tolṇiṇṇeya r-ayṇē*  
*Ma-vvariṇ vaḷḱkūṇ ma-ṇṇu m-ākum.* (ibid. 236.)



*nūṛū* and *āyiram* for *paṭṭū* and *nūṛū*, but agrees with Tolkāppiyar in the method of changing *oṅpaṭṭū* to *toṅ* and *toḷ* respectively. (cf. Na. 194.)

2.13. *Modern Period*: 2.131. The author of *Ilakkavilakkam* has given 106 sūtras in sandhi in three chapters. Of them 22 sūtras are identically the same as are found in Tolkāppiyam and 69 as found in Nannūḷ; nine are adapted from Tolkāppiyam and 4 from Nannūḷ; two are original.<sup>1</sup>

2.132. The Rev. C.J. Beschi agrees with all the grammarians regarding the insertion of the intervocalic consonant except in the case of *e*, after which, he says, *y* is inserted<sup>2</sup>, while others say that *v* is inserted. Among the changes in sandhi he includes *tiraṭṭū* which means *dirgha-sandhi*, *guṇa-sandhi* and *vṛddhi-sandhi*<sup>3</sup> like the authors of *Vīracōḷiyam* and *Nēminātam*.

2.14. *Similarities and Dissimilarities between Sanskrit and Tamil in Sandhi*: 2.141. *Similarities*: There are 3 points in which Sanskrit sandhi and Tamil sandhi are similar.

(1) In Sanskrit if the standing word ends in *n* preceded by a short vowel and is followed by a vowel, *n* is doubled. (e. g. *sugan + īśaḥ = sugan-n-īśaḥ*.) Cf. *śamā kṛasād aci śamany nityam*. (P. A. 8.3.32.) Similar is the case in Tamil. e. g. *kaṇ + aḷakitū = kaṇ-n-aḷakitū*. (Tol. E. 161.)

(2) The final *m* when followed by a voiceless consonant is changed to the corresponding nasal. e. g. *am + kītaḥ = aṁkītaḥ*. Similarly *aṁcītaḥ*, etc. Cf. *mō'nuvōraḥ* (P.A. 8.3.23.)

1. They deal with the point that there is no change in sandhi if the standing word is vocative or ends in third or sixth case suffix. As regards sandhi when the standing word is vocative, it seems to me that he has followed similar sandhi in Sanskrit.

2. *Mutaḷṇṇuyirmōḷi yācēṇṇuḷi, īcōi yīṇiyaiyum yavō, marrai yuyirkkīḷ vakaram puṇarum* (T. V. 20); *tiripaḷi vāḷkam tiraṭṭunōḷi vīkāram*, (ibid. 21.)

3. *Irumōḷi arumōḷi peṇaccāḥ kīrtamōy, nīlaimōḷi yīṇṇuyir nīṅkalu mataṇṇō, ṭeṇaimōḷi mutarṇaḥ a āvātalum īṇvātalum, uōvātalum*. (T. V. 38.)

and *anussārasya yayi para samaropaḥ* (P. A. 8.4.58). In Tamil also the same is the case in non-case-relation sandhi. (e. g. *maran + kuṛitū = maraṇkuṛitū*, etc.) (Tol. E. 315.)

(3) Both in Sanskrit and Tamil, the final letter of the vocative does not generally undergo any change.

2.142. *Dissimilarities*:—(1) As regards sandhi between two vowels in Sanskrit the most important laws are: (a) if *a*, *i*, *u*, *ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॡ) is followed by a similar vowel, *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* are respectively substituted for both; (b) if *a* or *ā* is followed by *i* or *u* short or long, *gūṇa* letter (i.e.) *ē* or *ō* is substituted for both; (c) if *i*, *u*, *ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॡ) short or long is followed by a dissimilar vowel, it is changed to the corresponding semi-vowel; (d) if *a* is followed by *ī* or *ai* and *ō* or *au*, *ē* and *ō* are respectively substituted for both; (e) if *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are followed by a vowel, they are changed to *ay*, *ōy*, *av* and *āv* respectively.

None of these laws finds a place in Tamil in any period, except perhaps some of them are used in modern spoken Tamil. In place of these laws, Tamil has the one important law that a semi-vowel may, in the ancient period and must, in the medieval and modern periods, be inserted between two vowels except in the case of *ṛ* which is dropped.

(2) Besides, the insertion of flexional increment between the base and the case-suffix as found in Tamil is unknown in Sanskrit.

(3) The doubling of the initial consonant of the following word when the final of the standing word is a vowel, as in Tamil *viḷḷ-k-kuṛitū*, is practically unknown in Sanskrit.

(4) In Sanskrit accented syllables take *gūṇa* or *vyddhi*, while, in Tamil, flexional increments are generally added before them.

(5) Another important difference in sandhi between Tamil and Sanskrit is that, in the former, it is divided into two important classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, and in the latter, such a classification is not found. Hence it is clear that in Tamil when words have to be combined

in sandhi, one must know before-hand their meaning, which is not necessarily the case in Sanskrit except in the case of the nouns in the vocative case and nouns in dual number. But on the other hand, in several respects the internal sandhi differs from the external sandhi in Sanskrit, while in Tamil no difference is generally made in the treatment of sounds in both these varieties of sandhi.

Hence it may be said that the ways in which sandhi takes place in both the languages are so different as to form one of the strong reasons to prove that Tamil and Sanskrit are fundamentally different languages.



### 3. COL OR PARTS OF SPEECH.

3.1. *Definition*:—All Tamil grammarians except the author of *Viracōliyam* and its commentator and the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* define *col* or word as that which conveys sense.<sup>1</sup> This is exactly similar to the statement '*arthah padam*' (S.Y.V.P. 3.2.) found in Śukla Yajurveda Prātiśākhya and also to the statement '*śaktam padam*' made by Sanskrit logicians. But the authors of *Viracōliyam* and *Pirayōkavivēkam* follow Pāṇini's definition '*suptāntam padam*' (P.A. 1.4.14.), since they say that a particle *su* is added at the end of nouns in the nominative singular and then it is dropped,<sup>2</sup> as is done in the case of the nominative singular of neuter nouns in Sanskrit like *śuci*, *madhu*, etc. and generally of masculine and feminine nouns whose base ends in a consonant like *vāc*, *bhīṣaj*, etc. By so doing they have distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil language should be analysed and evaluated. For, in the Tamil language gender is generally determined by sex, and at no stage grammatical gender was recognised as a category distinct from natural gender.

3.2. *Classification*:—Parts of speech are, in the opinion of *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, *Nappūlār* and the later grammarians, primarily two in number, *viz.*, *peyar* and *viṇai*, and they would, in a secondary sense, give the dignity of parts of speech to two more categories, *viz.*, *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col*.<sup>3</sup> A striking parallelism is discernible between this classification and that in Yāska's

1. *Ellā-c collum poraḷ-kuṇṇi taṇṇā*. (Tol. Col. 155.)

2. . . . *oruṇṇaḷ orutti y-eṇṇi nāṇiya cu eḷḷum*  
*Aliyum-nāṇiya cu*. (V.V. 5) & (P.V. p. 12, line 7).

3. *Col-t-eṇ-a-p paṭuṇa peyarē viṇai-y-eṇ*  
*R-ā-y-iraṇ t-eṇ-a v-aṇṇiṇi nūṛē*. (Tol. Col. 158.)  
*Ṭai-c-coṇ kīḷavi-y-n m-uṇiccoṇ kīḷaviyūm*  
*Avarru-paḷi maruṇṇiṇi t-ūṇṇu m-eṇ-a*. (ibid. 159.)

Nirukta 'catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyāṇi ca upasarganipātāśca' (Y.N. 8.8). As Durgācārya points out,<sup>1</sup> the priority given to *nāma* and *ākhyāta* indicates their primary importance, while *upasarga* and *nipāta* are assigned to a subordinate position.

A somewhat similar classification is also found in Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya and Śukla Yajur-veda Prātiśākhya:—

*Nāmākhyātām upasargā nipātāścatvāri āhuḥ padajātāni  
śābdaḥ* (R.V.P. 12.5).

*Nāmākhyātōpasarganipātāḥ* (S.Y.V.P. 8.44).

It would become apparent from what follows in this section that Tolkāppiyāṇār had perhaps this classification of Nirukta and Prātiśākhya for his model and introduced slight variations. While the first two of the four classes, viz., *nāma*=*peyar*-c-col, *ākhyāta*=*viṇai*-c-col are kept intact, the third and the fourth classes were grouped into one, viz., *iṭai*-c-col and a new fourth class, *uri*-c-col, was introduced for the sake of consistency with the Sanskritic model.

3.21. *Peyar*: 3.211. *Definition*: Tolkāppiyāṇār has not clearly defined what *peyar* is. But from the list of *peyar* given by him in *Peyar-iyal*, the fifth section of the second Chapter of Tolkāppiyam, it seems to me that *peyar* is a word denoting a person or an object. This agrees with the definition of *nāma* given in Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya as 'sattvābhidhūyakam nāma' (R.V.P. 12.8) where *sattva* evidently means *dravya* or object, cf. *sattva* . . . *śābdaḥ astyēva dravyapadārthakaḥ*: (M.B. i. 341.2). Hence Tolkāppiyāṇār does not seem to include abstract nouns under *peyar*. His statement that *peyar* does not denote time except when it is a verbal noun,<sup>2</sup> that it takes a finite

1. *Atra nāmākhyātayāḥ pūrvam abhidhānam, prādhānyāt, aprādhānyāt upasarga-nipātānām paścāt | Ubhāḥ api nāmākhyātā nipātōpasarganirapekṣāḥ api satī svam artham brūtaḥ | Na tu upasarga-nipātānām nāmākhyāta-nirapekṣānām arthō'sti* || (Durgācārya's Comm. on, Y.N. 8.8.)

2. *Peyar-nilai-k kiṭavi kulan tōṇṇā*

*Tolipilai y-eṭṭu m-ōṇṇalan kaṭai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 70.)

verb after it<sup>1</sup> and that the case-suffixes are added after it<sup>2</sup> simply explains *peyar*; it does not define it as interpreted by commentators.

Nagṇūlār and later grammarians have, like the above-mentioned commentators, adopted this as its definition<sup>3</sup> and hence have included numerals<sup>4</sup> and abstract nouns also under *peyar*,<sup>5</sup> though they sometimes use the word *nāman* itself in place of *peyar*.<sup>6</sup> In Tamil, *peyar* denotes nouns, pronouns and numerals.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Poruṇmai cuṭṭai viyaṅkoḷa varutal*  
*Viṇai-nilai yuraiṭṭai viṇā v-iṅ kēṇṭal*  
*Poṇṇu-koḷa varutal peyar-koḷa varuṭaleṇ*  
*R-aṇṇi y-aṇaiṭṭum peyar-p-paya ṇilai-y-ē.* (ibid. 66.)
2. *Kūciya muṇai-yi ṇ-aruṇu-nilai tiriya*  
*T-iṅṇu-peyar-k k-āku m-iyoylaiya v-eṇṇa.* (ibid. 69.)
3. *Itukuri kārāṇa maraṭṭi t-āḱkan*  
*Taṭarutā tōḷil-ala kōḷan t-ōṇṇā*  
*Vēṇṇumai-k-k-iṅṇ-āy-t tiṇai-pā l-iṭai-t-aṇṇū*  
*Ēṇṇum poṭu-v-u m-ānāṇa peyar-ā.* (Na. 275.)
4. *Viṇā-c-cuṭ t-aṇṇum vēṇu m-āmporuḷ*  
*Āti y-urutu-c cuṭṭaṇai y-āytam*  
*Oṇṇ-ṇ en ṇ-iṇṇaṇa v-eṇṇ-ṇ peyar-ē.* (ibid. 279.)  
*Muṇṇa r-a-v-v-ōḷu varuṇai ya-v-v-um*  
*Cuṭṭ-ṇa v-a-v-v-uṅ koḷ-i-ṇu moḷiyum*  
*Oṇṇa l-eṇṇu m-uḷḷa v-iḷḷa*  
*Palla cilla v-uḷ-a-v-iḷa paḷa-cilla*  
*Iṇṇavum paḷaviṇ peyar-ā kuṇ-m-ē.* (ibid. 280.)
5. *Viṇaiyṇ peyar-ē paṭarēkkai viṇaiyūḷ*  
*Aṇaiyum peyar-ē y-āṇṇu m-āḱum.* (ibid. 286.)  
*Paḷ-vakai-p poṇṇum paḱar-peya r-āḱi*  
*Oṇu-kuṇam paḷa-kuṇam taḷav-i-p peyar-viṇai*  
*Oṇuḷ ceyyāḱku uriyaṇa uriccot.* (ibid. 442.)
6. *Paṭarēkkai viṇai-muṇṇu nāman kuṇipṇu*  
*Peṇṇṇaṭṭun tiṇai-pā l-aṇaiṭṭu m-ēṇṇai*  
*Īṇṇavay ṇorumai poṇṇu-mai-p pālē.* (ibid. 265) and (I. V. 167.)
7. It is clear from the expression 'eṇṇu-k-kuṇi-p-peyar' in  
*Palla paḷa-cilla v-eṇṇum peyarum*  
*Uḷḷa v-iḷḷa v-eṇṇum peyarum*

3.212: *Classification*: 3.2121. *Peyar* is classified under three heads:—(1) *Uyartinaṭai* or high caste (2) *aṣṭinaṭai* or casteless and (3) *veramu-t-tinaṭai* or caste common to both. Tolkāppiyaṇār defines *uyartinaṭai* as words denoting human beings, and *aṣṭinaṭai* as words denoting objects other than human beings<sup>1</sup>. He includes words denoting gods under *uyartinaṭai*.<sup>2</sup> The author of the Nēminātam includes *narakar* also under *uyartinaṭai*.<sup>3</sup> He is followed by Naṇṇūlār.<sup>4</sup> The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam repeats what is said by Tolkāppiyaṇār.<sup>5</sup>

3.2122. *Uyartinaṭai* is divided into three *pāls*, viz., *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl* and *palarpāl*. *Āṇpāl* is that which denotes a male, *peṇpāl*, a female and *palarpāl*, more than one male or female.

*Vinaṭai-p-peyar-k kiḷaviyūm paṇṇu-koḷa peyarum*

*Ṭṇaitteṇa-k kiḷakku m-ṇṇu-k-kurip peyarum*

*Oppiṇṇukiya peyar-nilai-p-ṇṇappala*

*A-p-pū l-ṇṇpata m-ṇṇarṇṇi r-ṇṇa.* (Tol. Col. 168.)

that the words *ṇṇṇṇ*, *iraṇṇṇ* etc., are nouns according to Tolkāppiyaṇār only when they respectively mean one object, two objects, etc.

1. *Uyartinaṭai y-ṇṇmaṇṇār maḷkaṭ cuṭṭi*  
*A-ṇṇai y-ṇṇmaṇṇār r-avarala piṇṇar.*  
*Ā-y-irutiṇaiyi ṇ-icaikkummaṇṇa collā.* (Tol. Col. 1.)
2. *Peṇmai cuṭṭiya v-uyartinaṭai maruṇṇiṇ*  
*Āmai tiruṇa peyar-nilai-k kiḷaviyūm*  
*Teymaṇ cuṭṭiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷaviyūm*  
*ṭ-ṇ-ṇa v-ariyūm-an taṇ-tamaḷ kiḷaṭ*  
*Uyartinaṭai maruṇṇiṇ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.* (ibid. 4.)
3. *Ṭṇa tiṇai-y-iraṇṇum pāl-aiṇu m-ṇṇ-ṇaḷṇum*  
*Vēṇṇumai y-ṇṇu-n tokai-y-āru-māṇṇariya*  
*Māṇṇitamam kālāṇṇaṇ m-ṇṇu m-iraṇṇi-tatiṇ*  
*Rṇṇa v-araṇṇpatāṇ col.* (N. N. Col. 2.)
4. *Maḷkaṭ tāvar narakā r-uyartinaṭai*  
*Maṇṇai r-ṇṇṇu m-ṇṇṇu m-a-ṇṇṇai.* (Na. 251.)
5. *Uyartinaṭai y-ṇṇmaṇṇār maḷkaṭ cuṭṭi*  
*A-ṇṇai y-ṇṇmaṇṇār r-avarala piṇṇar.* (I. V. 162.)  
*Teyvamum piṇṇu-ṇ m-a-v-ṇ-ṇu paḷutiyūm*  
*ṭ-ṇ-ṇa v-ariyūm-an taṇ-tamaḷ kiḷaṭ*  
*Uyartinaṭai maruṇṇiṇ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.* (I. V. 165.)

Similarly *aariṇai* is divided into two *pāls*, viz., *oṇṇaṇṇpāl* and *paḷaviṇṇpāl*. *Oṇṇaṇṇpāl* is that which denotes one animal other than a human being, or a lifeless object and *paḷaviṇṇpāl* is that which denotes more than one of them. Hence it is evident that gender and number are not taken as separate entities in Tamil language, and that the *pāl* or the gender and number in Tamil nouns are determined more from their meaning than from their ending, though it is generally stated that the ending *ṇ*<sup>1</sup> denotes masculine singular,<sup>2</sup> *ḷ*, feminine singular, *ṇ*, *mār*<sup>3</sup> epicene plural, *tū*<sup>4</sup> neuter<sup>5</sup> singular and *a*<sup>6</sup> neuter plural. Though the word *peṇ-makaṇ* ends in *ṇ*, it is feminine singular; though *makkal* ends in *ḷ*, it is epicene plural; though *āl* ends in *ḷ*, it is common gender singular, and so on.

3.213. Declension: 3.2131. General points in Declension: 3.21311. Case: There are, in Tamil, 8 cases. The cases from the accusative to the locative were, it seems to me, named after their suffixes by the Tamil grammarians who lived before Tolkāppiyāṇār, as *ai-vēṇṇumai*,<sup>7</sup> *oṇ-vēṇṇumai*, *ku-vēṇṇumai*, *iṇ-vēṇṇumai* *atu-vēṇṇumai* and *kaṇ-vēṇṇumai*,<sup>8</sup> but the vocative

1. *ṇāḷkū ṇ-ōṇṇē p-āṇṇu v-aṇi-ōḷ*. (Tol. Col. 5.)

2. *ḷāḷkū ṇ-ōṇṇē makkāṇṇu v-aṇi-ōḷ*. (ibid. 6.)

3. *Rāḷkū ṇ-ōṇṇum paḷava v-iṇṇuṇṇum*  
*Māraḷ-k kiḷaṇi yam-uḷappapa māṇṇum*  
*Nēra-i iṇṇum paḷa-v-aṇi collē*. (ibid. 7.)

4. *Oṇṇaṇṇ kiḷaṇi ta-ṇu-ṇa v-āṇṇa*  
*Kuṇṇiya lakaṇa-i i-ṇuṇṇi y-āḷum*. (ibid. 8.)

5. It is to be understood that the words *masculine singular*, *feminine singular* and *neuter singular*, *gender*, do not at all correspond to *āṇṇpāl* and *oṇṇaṇṇpāl*, since the classification of *pāl* and that of *gender* are entirely on different bases; but for want of better terms they are used here to denote them.

6. *A ā va-ōṇṇa varūu m-iṇṇuṇṇi*  
*A-p-pāṇ māṇṇē paḷa-v-aṇi collē*. (Tol. Col. 9.)

7. The Tamil word *vēṇṇumai* seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit word *vidhakti*.

8. *Iraṇṇā kuraṇē*  
*Ai-y-ēṇa-p peyariya vēṇṇumai-k kiḷaṇi*..... (Tol. Col. 71.)



was called *vīḷi-vēṟṟumai* from the sense which it conveyed, and the nominative, *peyar-vēṟṟumai*. Tolkāppiyaṇār, though he adopted the name *vīḷi-vēṟṟumai* and *peyar-vēṟṟumai* for the vocative, and the nominative cases respectively, began to name the cases from the accusative to the locative as *iraṇṇām vēṟṟumai*, *māṇṇām vēṟṟumai*, *nāṇṇām vēṟṟumai*, *aiṇṇām vēṟṟumai*, *āṟṇām vēṟṟumai*, and *ēḷām vēṟṟumai*. This he did, perhaps on the model of Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini and his predecessors who called them *dvitīyā*, *trītiyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcamī*, *ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī*<sup>1</sup> respectively. The name *vīḷi-vēṟṟumai* corresponds in sense to *sambuddhī*, the name given by the early Sanskrit grammarians to the vocative singular. Tolkāppiyaṇār did not change the names of *peyar-vēṟṟumai* and *vīḷi-vēṟṟumai* perhaps because they were not represented by suffixes. On the other hand, Naṇṇūlār began to call *vīḷi-vēṟṟumai*, *oṭṭām-vēṟṟumai*,<sup>2</sup> and in modern times *peyar-vēṟṟumai* also is called *untal-vēṟṟumai*.

*Mūṇṇā kūvatē*

*Oṭu-ṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kūṭavi...* (ibid. 73.)

*Ḍāṇṇā kūvatē*

*Ku-ṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kūṭavi...* (ibid. 75.)

*Aiṇṇā kūvatē*

*Iṇ-ṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-kūṭavi...* (ibid. 77.)

*Āṟṇā kūvatē*

*Aṭu-ṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kūṭavi...* (ibid. 79.)

*Ēḷā kūvatē*

*Kaṇ-ṇ-ṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kūṭavi...* (ibid. 81.)

1. *Karmāṇi dvitīyā*. (P. A. 2. 3. 2.)

*Karīṟ-karaṇayōṟi trītiyā*. (ibid. 18.)

*Caturthī sampradāṇē*. (ibid. 13.)

*Apādāṇē pañcamī*. (ibid. 28.)

*Ṣaṣṭhī śāṣṭē*. (ibid. 50.)

*Saptamydhikaraṇē ca*. (ibid. 36.)

2. *Ēṭṭa u-ṇ-ṇa-p peyariya vēṟṟumai*

*Tiripū kūṇṇal mīkuta l-iyalpayal*

*Tiripū m-ām parul paṭarkkai y-ōrai-t*

*Taṇṇuṇa m-ōka-t tāṇ-aḷai-p paṭuvē*. (Na. 303.)

3.21312. *Number*: Tolkāppiyāṇār and all the later grammarians have mentioned only two numbers, singular and plural. The plural suffixes may be used, according to them, to denote honorific singular.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Caldwell seems to think that *nām* is a species of dual<sup>2</sup> and denotes the speaker and the person spoken to. But it is found used with reference to not only the speaker and the person spoken to, but also a third person or persons standing near them. Hence there does not seem to be adequate justification for treating *nām* as a species of dual.

3.21313. *Points of difference in Declension between Tamil and Sanskrit*: There are four important points to be noted in the declension of nouns and pronouns in Tamil where it differs from Sanskrit.

(1) One suffix in Tamil denotes both gender and number, (except the suffix *kaḷ* added to *nyartipai* nouns in medieval and modern periods which denotes number alone) and another, case; while in Sanskrit, one *pratyaya* denotes gender and another both number and case.

(2) Tamil has no dual number, while Sanskrit has.

(3) The suffixes of the second, third and seventh cases are added, in Tamil, to the *nominative case form and not to the base* as is done generally in Sanskrit.

(4) *Cāriyai* or flexional increments are added in Tamil between the noun and the case suffixes. They are not ordinarily recognisable in Sanskrit except 'u' which is inserted between the stems ending in a vowel and the genitive plural suffix and the

1. *Iyagpeyar munṇa r-ārāi-k kiṭavi*

*Palār-k-k-urī p-ēḷuttin viṭai-yotū varumē.* (Tol. Col. 270.)

*Oruvam-orutti-y-on rān-ciraṇṇāṭṭiḷ pallār-palavai-k*

*Karutū-muṇaiyṭṭi kalappamā-vēṇṇumai kūn-mutal-cu*

*Maruvam-ar-ār-arkaḷ ārkaḷ-kaḷ mār-mutal-vēṇṇumaiyṭṭi*

*Uruvam-viḷi-vēṇṇumai-y-ēḷittēnku mura-p-ṇeṇṇumē.* (V. V. 2.)

2. C. D. G. pp. 222, 223 :—Two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, one of which includes the party addressed as well as the party of speaker, and which may therefore be considered as a *species of dual* etc.

instrumental singular suffix, through analogy with the corresponding cases of stems ending in *n*. (e.g. *Rāmā-ṇ-ām*, *Harī-ṇ-ām*, *Harinā* through analogy with *ātman-ām*, *gṛhin-ām* and *gṛhātā*).

On the other hand, in the graded declensions in Sanskrit, stems exhibit different grades of vowel-variation. Such vowel-variations are not generally found in Tamil except to some extent in the declension of pronouns. (e. g. *nām*, *nammāi*; *tāṅ*, *taṅṅai*, etc.)

3.2132. *Case-suffixes*: 3.21321. Case-suffixes from the first to the seventh are the following:

Ancient period.	Medieval Period. <sup>1</sup>	Modern Period.
1st Case No suffix	No suffix	No suffix
2nd case <i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>
3rd case <i>oṇ</i> ( <i>āṇ</i> also) <sup>2</sup>	<i>oṇ</i> , <i>ōṇ</i> , <i>āl</i> , <i>āṇ</i>	<i>oṇ</i> , <i>ōṇ</i> , <i>āl</i> , <i>āṇ</i>
4th case <i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>
5th case <i>iṇ</i>	<i>iṇ</i> , <i>il</i>	<i>iṇ</i> , <i>il</i> <i>iṇum</i> (Beschi)
6th case <i>atu</i> (if the following word is <i>āṇṇai</i> )	<i>atu</i> , <i>ātu</i> , (if the following noun is singular)	<i>atu</i> , <i>ātu</i>
<i>ku</i> (if the following word is <i>ṇṇai</i> )	<i>a</i> (if the following noun is plural)	<i>a</i>
7th case <i>kaṇ</i>	<i>ai</i> , <i>kaṇ</i> , <i>kāl</i> , <i>kaṭai</i> , etc.	<i>kaṇ</i> , <i>kāl</i> , <i>kaṭai</i> , etc.

1. In the medieval period, since what is stated by the author of *Viracōḷiyam* is entirely different from that of others, I have not mentioned it here but in 3.21324.

2. *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has mentioned 'āṇ' in

*Ku-ai āṇ-eyā varāṇ m-iṇṇai*

*A-ṇ-ai āṇ civaṇṇā ceyya puṇṇi* (Tol. Col. 108.)

though he has not stated that it denotes third case.

3. *Kaṇ-kāl kaṭai-iṇai talai-vāṇ tīrai-vayin*

*Muṇ-cār valam iṇam mēl-kāl puṇai-mutal*

3.21322. *Vocative case*: There is generally no special suffix to denote vocative case. If the person addressed is very near the speaker, the nominative case form itself is used if the word ends in a vowel or *āy*. If the person addressed is at a great distance from the speaker, the quantity of the last vowel of the word is increased. (e.g. *naṁpī*, *makkāḷ*, etc. Tol. Col. 152.) This is quite similar to the practice recorded in Pāṇini's statement '*dūrādāhātē ca*' (P. A. 8.2.24.). If the person addressed is neither very near to, nor at a distance from, the speaker, the following changes take place:—

(1) If the noun ends in *i*, *i* is lengthened to *ī*. e.g. *naṁpī*.

(2) If it ends in *ai*, *ai* is changed to *āy*; e.g. *naṁkāy*, *aṁṁāy*; but in words of relationship like *aṁṁai*, *ai* is also changed to *ā*. e.g. *aṁṁā*.

(3) If it ends in *ō* or *u*, *ē* is added at the end. e.g. *kū-ō-ē*, *tiru-u-ē*, etc.

(4) If it ends in *y* like *cōḷay*, *y* is dropped if the person spoken to is near the speaker (*cōḷa*), and *a* is also lengthened if he is a little away from him (*cōḷā*); if it is a verbal noun like *vanṭāy* or noun derived from a word denoting quality like *kariyāy*, *y* is changed to *y*; if *y* is preceded by *ā*, like *cēramāy*, there is no change; if it denotes relationship as *makay*, *ē* is added at the end.

(5) If it ends in *r* preceded by *a* or *ā*, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī*. (e.g. *kūṭṭar*—*kūṭṭīr*, *pārppār*—*pārppīr*; cf. *cennū-p-pulavār* (oh! poets of refined speech) (P.N. 140, 2); if it is a verbal noun or one derived from a word denoting quality, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī* and *ē* is added at the end. (e.g. *vanṭār*—*vanṭīrē*; *kariyār*—*kariyīrē*.)

(6) If it ends in *l* or *ḷ*, the preceding vowel is generally lengthened. E. g. *kuricil*—*kuricīl*; *makkal*—*makkāl*. This is similar to Pāṇini's statement '*vākyasya ṭēḥ pluta udāttaḥ*' (P. A.

*Piṇ-pūṭṭi aḷai-tēm uḷai-vai uḷi-uḷi*

*Uḷ-akam puṇam-iḷi iṭa-p-poru ḷ-aruṇṇē* (Na. 302.)

8.2.82.) If it ends in *l* and is a verbal noun or a noun derived from a word denoting quality and if it is preceded by *ā*, *l* is changed to *y* (e.g., *niṇṇāḷ-niṇṇāy*; *kariyāḷ - kariyāy*). If it ends in *l* and denotes relationship, *ē* is added at the end (e.g., *makaḷ - makaḷē*).

(7) If nouns denoting *aṣṭipai* have to be used in the vocative case, *ē* is invariably added at the end. (e.g., *puliy-ē*, etc.)

The nouns ending in other letters have the same form in the vocative, as in the nominative case.

As regards the formation of the vocative case there is practically very little difference in all the three periods—ancient, medieval and modern.

3.21323. *Special points regarding certain case-suffixes mentioned above:*—In an attempt to give an historical exposition of grammatical theories in Tamil, the following points regarding certain cases deserve special notice.

3.213231. *7th case-suffix:*—As regards the 7th case-suffix in the ancient period, Tolkāppiyāṇār gives two sūtras (Tol. Col. 81 and 82), the latter of which is the following:—

*Kaṇ-kāḷ puṇam-aka m-uḷ-ḷ-uḷai kiḷ-mēḷ*

*Piṇ-cā r-ayal-puḷai lēvakai y-eyṇā*

*Muṇ-u-ḷai kaḷai-talai valam-iṭa m-eyṇā*

*Aṇṇa piṇam m-alay-pāla v-eymanār.* (Tol. Col. 82.)

This stanza is interpreted by Ḥampūraṇar and Naccinārk-kiṇiyar to denote the *suffixes* which may come in the place of *kaṇ*, the 7th case-suffix; but Cēṇāvaraiyar interprets it to denote the *different meanings* of *kaṇ*, the seventh case-suffix. Nannūḷār and all the later grammarians agree with Ḥampūraṇar. But the arguments set forth against it by Cēṇāvaraiyar under the same sūtra appear to be convincing and my discussion in detail on the same is found in pages 94 to 96 of my *Collatikāra-k-kuṟippu*. A critical study of collatikāram of Tolkāppiyam which was pub-

1. The above points are mentioned in *zīṭimaruṇ* of Tolkāppiyam, and sūtras 304 to 314 of Nannūḷ.

lished in 1930. One or two of the most important points may be mentioned here. If the latter sūtra makes mention of suffixes, the suffix *kan* which finds a place in the sūtra

*Eḷā kuvatē*

*Kaṇ-ṇ-ṇa-p peyariya vēṇṇumai-kkilavi*

*Vigai-ṇey y-iṭatti ṇilattir kōiattin*

*Aṇai-vakai-k kuṭippir iḍuṇu m-atuvē.*

(Tol. Col. 81.)

need not be repeated here; *iṇvakai* which is found in this sūtra is taken by all the commentators not as a case-suffix but as the meaning of the case-suffix *kan*; if *aḥam* be taken as a suffix, the *cāriyai attu* that is found in the expression '*ūrakattiruntāy*' (he was in the village) would be quite out of place, since the *cāriyai* can come only between a noun and a case suffix and not between a noun followed by a case-suffix and a verb.

3.213232. *6th case-suffixes*.—As regards the sixth case-suffixes, it deserves to be noted that Tolkāppiyāṇār says that it is *ku* if it is followed by an *nyartinaṭai* noun<sup>1</sup> and *atu* in other places; and Naṇṇūlār does not make any mention of *ku* and proceeds to make a new point by observing that '*atū*' and '*ātū*' are used if the following noun is singular, and '*a*' is used if it is plural. It seems strange here that the same element '*atu*' affixed to nouns or pronouns denotes the gender of the noun which they qualify according to Tolkāppiyāṇār and its number according to Naṇṇūlār. It seems to me that the latter has stated so since numerous expressions like '*niṇṇa kaṇṇiyum* (even thy garlands) (P. N. 45.3.), *avara kōppuṭaiya kayam* (their protected wells) (P.N. 15.9.), *ematu ucciyārē* (T. 21.1 to 7)' were found used before his time. I venture to suggest the following reason for such a usage:—We see that, in expressions like '*kai eyatū*' (hand is mine) and '*kakkaḷ eṇa*' (hands are mine), the suffixes *atu* and *a* denote respectively singular and plural. Here

1. Here I have followed the commentary of Ilampūraṇār on the sūtra.

*Atu-ṇey vēṇṇumai y-nyartinaṭ-t tokai-payiy*

*Atu-ṇe ṇ-urupu-kka-k kukaram varumē.* (Tol. Col. 94.)

*tû* and *a* are regular since they are the verbal terminations denoting *onṅaṅpāl* and *paḷaviṅpāl*; but when expressions like '*enatû kai*' (my hand) and '*enatû kaikaḷ*' (my hands) where *atu* at the end of *enatû* is not a verbal termination, but the sixth case-suffix, were used, it may have been wrongly understood that *atû* in both *enatû kai* and *kai enatû* was the same sixth case-suffix. This may have led to the feeling that *atû* in '*enatû kaikaḷ*' should be treated as a mistake and changed to '*ena kaikaḷ*' on the analogy of '*kaikaḷ ena*'. Or expressions like *pôkâ tama* (K. 376) may have led to it. Here *tama* which, in its origin is a plural apperilative verb formed by adding *a* to *tam* is found used as a participial noun and means *one's own objects*. Thus expressions like '*tama poruḷkaḷ*' in the sense of *objects which are one's own* may have come into vogue. In such instances *a* of *tama* may have been mistaken for the sixth case-suffix added to words accompanied by plural nouns.

The following examples clearly support Tolkāppiyāṇār's view that the noun or pronoun having the suffix '*atû*' may be accompanied by a neuter noun irrespective of its being singular or plural.

*Niṅatiru tiru-v-aṭi* (Your two feet). (Cilap. 24, p. 518, 2nd edn.)

*Iṅaiṅatû aṭiyiṅai* (God's two feet). (T. 127.5.)

*Uṅatû aṭiyār maṇattāyō* (Are you of the minds of your devotees). (P.T. 150.7.)

*N.B.*—Here *aṭi* and *maṇam* are neuter plurals.

3.213233. *Fifth case-suffix 'i'*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār recognises '*iṅ*' as the fifth case-suffix, whereas '*i'*' has taken its place in Viracōḷiyam and is found used along with '*iṅ*' in Nannūl and other later works. No attempt appears to have so far been made to discover the process by which Tolkāppiyāṇār's '*iṅ*' may have been metamorphosed into '*i'*' at the hands of the author of Viracōḷiyam.

For this I would suggest the following solution: Consider the following equations:

$$\begin{aligned} kōl + naṇmai &= kōṇaṇmai \\ kōṇ + naṇmai &= kōṇaṇmai. \end{aligned}$$

If we reverse the process, it is easy to see that there are two possible legitimate ways of splitting *kōṇaṇmai*. This may have proved to be a fruitful source of confusion between the final *ṇ* and final *l*. Perhaps in similar cases of sandhi like *aracaṇṇallaṇ* (*aracaṇṇ + nallaṇ* or *aracaṇl + nallaṇ*), a bias may have been developed in favour of the latter alternative *aracaṇl + nallaṇ*. Thus 'l' may have come to usurp the place of 'ṇ' as the suffix of fifth case.

3.213234. *Third case-suffix 'āl'*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār's 'āṇ' used as an instrumental suffix<sup>1</sup> perhaps underwent the same vicissitude as *ṇ*, the fifth case-suffix, and came to be replaced by *āl* (the third case-suffix) in *Viracōliyam*. It is found used along with *āṇ* in *Naṅṇūl* and other later works.

3.21324. The author of *Viracōliyam* adopts a different plan for explaining case forms. As has already been said, he adopted Pāṇini's definition of *padam* and combines *both the element that denotes the number and the element that denotes the case as one denoting case and number*, since only one *pratyaya* denotes *both number and case* in Sanskrit. Besides, he says that 'cu' is the *pratyaya* for the first case singular and it is always dropped. This is evidently done in close imitation of Pāṇini's Grammar.<sup>2</sup> According to him the case-suffixes are the following:—

Singular:	Honorific Singular & Plural:
1st case <i>cu</i> (dropped afterwards)	<i>ar, ār, arkaḷ, ārkaḷ, kaḷ, mār &amp; (cu in the neuter).</i>
2nd case <i>ai</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>ai</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>
3rd case <i>oṇ, ōṇ, āl</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>oṇ, ōṇ, āl</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>

1. *Ku-ai āṇ-ēṇa varūṇ m-iṇai*

*A-va-otā civaṇṇai ceyyū ḷ-āḷā.* (ibid. 108.)

2. The author of *Pirayōkavivākam* follows him in this point. Cf. *arupeyarc collēṇa cuppāri nāḷkam.* (P. V. 37. Comm.)



Singular :

Honorific Singular &amp; Plural :

4th case *ku*, *poruṭṭu* preceded  
by *cu*.*ku*, *poruṭṭu* preceded by *ar*,  
*ār*, etc.5th case *ninru* preceded by *kaṇ*,  
*iḷ*, etc. preceded by  
*cu*.*ninru* preceded by *kaṇ*, *iḷ*, etc.  
preceded by *ar*, *ār*, etc.6th case *uṭaiyāṇ* (*āṇpāl*)*uṭaiyār*, *uṭaiyārkaḷ* (*palarpāl*)*uṭaiyāl* (*peṇpāl*)*uṭaiyatū* (*onṇarpāl*)*uṭaiyiya* (*palaviṇpāl*)(*ku* preceded by *cu* when  
the 6th case becomes  
a *kāraka*.)(*ku* preceded by *ar*, *ār*, etc.  
when the 6th case becomes  
a *kāraka*.)7th case *kē*, *uṭai*, *iḷ*, *kaṇ* and  
other words denoting  
place preceded by *cu*.*kē*, *uṭai*, etc., preceded by *ar*,  
*ār*, etc.

3.213241. The points to be noted here are.—(1) The mention of 'ar' as the pluralising particle of nouns, while 'r' alone is said to be so by Tolkāppiyapār. It is shown in my article on *Cuṭṭeḷuttu* that a of *ar* is only ademonstrative root and has nothing to do with the plural number.

(2) The mention of the forms *arkaḷ* and *ārkaḷ*; these are evidently cases of double plurals not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyapār. The latter says that 'kaḷ' may be affixed only to neuter nouns to denote plural number as *māṭukaḷ* (bulls), but that too was not absolutely necessary. According to him and even the later grammarians, we may say *māṭu vantaṇa* (bulls came). Hence it is very likely that *kaḷ* which was originally added only to denote *palaviṇpāl*, may have been used through analogy to denote *palarpāl*, (e.g. *nōṇpi-kaḷ* (M.M. 3.75); *vacukkaḷ* (T. 42.5) and then it may have been added to plural forms both in *palarpāl* and *palaviṇpāl*. Then it seems to me that it was further extended through analogy to verbs also.

Examples of these double plurals and the use of *kaḷ* after *uyartina*i nouns are found in very few instances in Cilappatikāram (e.g. *peṇṭirkāḷ* Cilap. 469.4) and in plenty in works of Śaiva and

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Vaiṣṇava literature and certain other works belonging to the period from 6th to 9th century A.D. and in the inscriptions of the later period.

*Pattarkaḷ payilavaiṭṭār* (the temple purohīts made them learn) (T. 27.2),

*Ivai pāṇon tavamūṭaiyārkaḷ* (they have the fortune of singing these) (P.T. 96.10).

*Eṇṇakai vaṇṇkaḷōṭṭū* (with eight kinds of Vasus)  
(T. 42.5.)

*Sēṇāpatikaḷ*. (S. 1. I. iii, iv, 133.)

It is worthy of note that such a use of *kaḷ* is not at all found in the earlier works of the Sangam period like *Puraṇānūṟu*, *Paṭirupattū*, etc.

In this connection I may say that, so far as Tamil is concerned, I do not agree with M. J. Vinson who thinks that the general plural sign in Dravidian is *gaḷ* or *kaḷ* and *r* another form of plural is of relatively modern origin<sup>1</sup>. The reasons set forth below support my view on this point:—(1) According to Tolkāppiyāṇār there may have been a period when *r* was used and *kaḷ* was not.

(2) In words like *aracarkaḷ* (kings), *kaḷ* does not displace *r* but is added only after it.

(3) *R* is found in the verbal forms as a plural element in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese from the ancient times, and *kaḷ* is not found as such in Canarese and Telugu even now. (e.g. Tel. *cēsirī*; Kan. *geydir*.)

(4) *R* may have been a plural element common to both the Dravidian and Indo-European languages since *r* is found in Sanskrit *lēbhīrē*.

It may be useful to observe in this connection that the practice of supporting the view that Tamil is a language of the suffix agglutinating type, by illustrations involving the suffix *kaḷ* (*paḷaṇai*, *paḷaṇkaḷai*) may easily be called into question, in view of the fact, that, according to Tolkāppiyāṇār, there may have been a period in the history of Tamil when forms like *paḷaṇai*

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were used both in *oyraṇpāl* and *palaṇṇipāl* and forms like *aracarai* were used to denote *palarpāl*.

3.213242. Forms having *ōṭṭ* as the third case-suffix are rare in the works of Sangam period, but in later works they occur more frequently than the forms with *ōṭu*.

*Malar magalōḍu* (with Lakṣmī). (I. A. Vol. 22, p. 70-M. M. P.)

*Kol-kaliṇṇōḍum* (even with war-bulls). Do.

*Muṇi tāy unaiyōṭṭi uniyāṇki* (Śiva having been in the company of Pārvatī). (T. 110. 5.)

*Aṇṇ āyarkula-k-koṭiyōṭu* (on that day with (Kṛṣṇa) the banner of the families of shepherds). (P. T. 37.1.)

3.2113243. The sixth case-suffixes mentioned by the author of *Viracōliyam* are *uṭaiyāṇ*, etc., and his commentator gives *ivan korraṇuṭaiyāṇ*, *ivaḷ korraṇuṭaiyāḷ* etc. as examples for the same. But *korraṇuṭaiyāṇ*, *korraṇuṭaiyāḷ*, etc. are only appellative verbs, and hence they cannot be words of the sixth case. He might have given *uṭaiya* as a sixth case-suffix for which he had many examples from the literature and inscriptions which were in existence in his time. The following are some of them:

*Ceytaraṇuṭaiya—lēvikku* (T. 106.3).

*Muṇ-ciyai-c-cavaiyōṇuṭaiya* (T. A. S. i. H. O. P. 5).

*Paviliya caranattāruṭaiya* (Ibid. p. 8).

3.21325. It will be interesting to note here that the practice of attributing case values to certain words became widely prevalent in the medieval and modern periods though it was not entirely unknown in early Sangam works. For instance, *kāḷ*, *tiṇai* etc., were occasionally used in the place of the seventh case-suffix in early Sangam works, *poruṭṭu* in the place of the fourth and *koṭṭu* in the place of the third (e.g.)

*Ūrkkaḷ nivaṇṭa* (Ka. T. i. 334, 1).

*Tenṇicai yāy kuṭi-y-iṇṇāyiy* (P. N. 132).

*Iḷḷaiy poruṭṭu* (K. 784).

*Oru-kaṇai koṭṭu mū-v-ciyai uṭarṇi* (P. N. 55).

There are numerous such instances in the works of later period and in colloquial speech (e.g.)

*uṣay* as third case-suffix—*avayupūṣay*, *ivaṣ vantiṣ* (Colloq.)

*pārkkilum* as 5th case-suffix—*avayaippārkkilum*, *ivaṣ nallay* (Colloq.)

*kāṭṭilum* Do. *avaya-k-kāṭṭilum* *ivaṣ nallay* (Colloq.)

*iṭam* as the 7th case-suffix—*āriṭam* *iruntāṣ* (Colloq.)

*iṭai* Do. *irunṭ kūṇiṭai* (Kumbar, A. 232. 28.)

### 3.21326. INFLUENCE OF VĪRACŌLIYAM ON NAṆNŪL

The author of Nagnūl follows the author of Vīracōliyam in stating *kaḷ* as the pluralising particle of *uyartiṇai* nouns also, *ūṣu* and *āi* as suffixes of the 3rd case and *iḷ* as a suffix of the seventh. But it is refreshing to see that Nagnūlār wisely refrained from introducing before all case-suffixes in the singular and after neuter plural the imaginary 'en' which the author of Vīracōliyam, owing to his Sanskritic obsession, did not hesitate to adopt.

3.2133. CLASSIFICATION: Though Tamil grammarians include pronouns in a comprehensive class called *peyar-c-col* which comprises nouns also, it seems to me proper to treat here noun declension separately from pronominal declension having regard to the fact that vowel-gradation which is a prominent feature of the latter type of declension is not found in the former.

3.21331. DECLENSION OF NOUNS: The declension of nouns in Tamil is much easier than that in Sanskrit. It is so fundamentally different as to form one of the points to show that Tamil and Sanskrit belong to entirely different families of languages. It may be divided into two classes : (1) declension of a *uyartiṇai* nouns and (2) that of *aṣṭiṇai* nouns. *Uyartiṇai* nouns may be classified under two heads :—(a) those that denote their *ṭiṇai* by their endings like *aracaṇ*, *vaṇikaṇ*, *kariyaṇ*, *kariyaḷ*, etc., (b) those that do not denote their *ṭiṇai* by their endings like *āṭṭuṇ*, *makaṭṭuṇ*, *tantai*, *aṇṇai*, *naṅkai*, *makkaḷ*, *māntar*, etc.

#### Ancient Period

(1) a. <i>Āṇṇpāl</i> :	<i>Peṇṇpāl</i> :	<i>Palarṇpāl</i> :
1st case <i>kariyaṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷ</i>	<i>kariyaṇ</i>

2nd case <i>kariyaṇai</i>	<i>kariyaḷai</i>	<i>kariyarai</i>
3rd case <i>kariyaṇoṭū</i>	<i>kariyaḷoṭū</i>	<i>kariyaroṭū</i>
<i>kariyaṇāṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷāṇ</i>	<i>kariyarāṇ</i>
4th case <i>kariyaṇkū</i>	<i>kariyaḷukkū</i>	<i>kariyarkkū</i>
5th case <i>kariyaṇiṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷiṇ</i>	<i>kariyariṇ</i>
6th case <i>kariyaraṭū</i>	<i>kariyaḷaṭū</i>	<i>kariyaraṭū</i>
<i>kariyaṇkū</i>	<i>kariyaḷukkū</i>	<i>kariyarkkū</i>
7th case <i>kariyaṇkaṇ</i>	<i>kariyaḷkaṇ</i>	<i>kariyarkaṇ</i>
8th case <i>kariyāy</i>	<i>kariyāy</i>	<i>kariyīr</i>
		<i>kariyīrē.</i>

But *makaṇ* has for its plural *makār*. (e.g. *makārōṭū*-Pattu. 431.253)

(1) b. (i)	<i>Āṇpāl:</i>	<i>Palarpāl:</i>
1st case	<i>ṭantai</i>	<i>ṭantaiyar</i>
2nd case	<i>ṭantaiyai</i>	<i>ṭantaiyarai</i>
3rd case	<i>ṭantaiyoṭū</i>	<i>ṭantaiyaroṭū</i>
	<i>ṭantaiyāṇ</i>	<i>ṭantaiyarāṇ</i>
	Etc.	Etc.
(ii)	<i>Peṇpāl:</i>	<i>Palarpāl:</i>
1st case	<i>aṇṇai</i>	<i>aṇṇaiyar</i>
2nd case	<i>aṇṇaiyai</i>	<i>aṇṇaiyarai</i>
3rd case	<i>aṇṇaiyoṭū</i>	<i>aṇṇaiyaroṭū</i>
	<i>aṇṇaiyāṇ</i>	<i>aṇṇaiyarāṇ</i>
	Etc.	Etc.

But *makaḷ* has for its plural *makaḷir* in the ancient period (e. g. *ṭipai kuru makaḷir*—Pattu. 435-342) and *makaḷirkaḷ* also in the later periods (e. g. *iṭai-y-iṭa makaḷirkaḷ* Kampar. B. 49.14).

There are certain nouns which are always plural in number. E. g. *māntar*, *makkai*. The words *āṭū* and *makaḷū*, it appears to me, were used only in the singular number in the ancient period.

<i>Oṇṇaṇpāl:</i>	<i>Palaviṇpāl:</i>
1st case <i>ā</i>	<i>ā, ākkaḷ</i>
2nd case <i>āviṇai</i>	<i>āviṇai, ākkaḷai</i>
3rd case <i>āviṇoṭū, āviṇāṇ</i>	<i>āviṇoṭū, ākkaḷoṭū</i>
	<i>āviṇāṇ, ākkaḷāṇ</i>

<i>Oṇṇaṇṇai :</i>	<i>Palaviṇṇai :</i>
4th case āviṇṇi	āviṇṇi, ākkāṇṇi
5th case āviṇṇi	āviṇṇi, ākkāṇṇi
6th case āviṇṇatū	āviṇṇatū, ākkāṇṇatū
7th case āviṇṇaṇ	āviṇṇaṇ, ākkāṇṇaṇ
8th case āvē	āvē, ākkāṇṇē.

It deserves to be noted here that the *cāriya* or flexional increment is added between the base of the noun and the case-suffix more commonly in the case of *aṇṇai* nouns than in that of *ṇṇai* nouns. There is a peculiarity in Tamil that all finite forms of verbs like *ṇṇēṇ*, *ṇṇēm*, *ṇṇēr*, *ṇṇāṇ*, *ṇṇār*, *ṇṇārkaṇ*, etc., take case-suffixes after them like the forms *ṇṇāṇaṇ*, *ṇṇāṇaṇ*, etc., when they are used as participial nouns. Such a usage is not found in Sanskrit except that the third person, singular, present parasmaipada of verbs is used as a substantive denoting the corresponding root and declined as such, e. g. *saktuḥ sacatēḥ* (M. B. i, 4.12.) which means that the word *saktuḥ* is derived from the root *sac*.

The following may serve as examples for using the finite verbs as participial nouns.

- Vemṇukinṇēṇai* (me who am feeling sorry). (T. V. 6.78.)  
*Nāyēṇai-p-poruṇṇaṇṇatū* (having treated with grace me who am like a dog). (T. 31.3.)  
*Umakkē āṇṇi-l-irikiṇṇōmukku* (to us who are wandering as servants to you alone). (P. T. 92.4.)  
*Neṇṇōṇṇukku aruṇ ceytēṇai* (him who has shown grace to Viṣṇu). (T. 217.2.)  
*Tēvarkaṇṇu amutu inṇēṇai* (to him who supplied the devas with nectar). (T. 217.2.)

3.213311. EXAMINATION OF DR. CALDWELL'S VIEWS: Dr. Caldwell says that 'the masculine singular suffix of the Tamil is *āṇ*, *ēṇ* or *ōṇ*. *Āṇ*, the shorter formative is that which appears in the demonstrative pronoun *avan* (*a-(v)-āṇ*).<sup>1</sup> He further says that 'indeed, *ēṇ* and *ōṇ* have evidently been

1. C. D. G. 223.

formed not from *ay*, but from *a-v-ay* by the softening of the euphonic *v* and the coalescence of the vowels'.<sup>1</sup>

The first statement that *ay*, *āy* or *ōy* is the masculine singular suffix falls to the ground from the mention made by Tol-kāppiyanār that it is only *y*<sup>2</sup> that denotes it. It is shown in my article on *Čuṭṭeṭutlu*<sup>3</sup> that *a* of *ay* is a demonstrative root.

As regards the second point that *āy* and *ōy* are the corrupted forms of *away*, it may be stated that 'a' and 'ā' never coalesce into *ā* in Tamil, nor can *v* be softened to *u* so that *a* and *u* may become *ō* as in Sanskrit. Besides we would have to explain the origin of *ay* in *away*. We should be moving in a circle if we say that the masculine singular suffix *ay* came from *āy* which came from *away*, and *away* was formed from *a* and *ay*. *Āy* itself may be changed to *ōy* by making *ā* more a close vowel, in the same way as the final *a* in Sanskrit is pronounced like *o* by Bengalis.

Similarly it may be said with respect to the feminine singular suffix *i*.

Dr. Caldwell says 'that every Dravidian noun is naturally neuter, or destitute of gender, and it becomes masculine or feminine solely in virtue of the addition of a masculine or feminine suffix'.<sup>4</sup>

In our present state of knowledge, it may not be possible to determine conclusively whether inflected forms in Tamil with gender and number suffixes arose from certain proethnic Dravidian vocables in accordance with what Jespersen<sup>5</sup> calls the theory of secretion through a process of disentanglement of final elements and their adaptation as suffixes; or whether, as Dr. Caldwell seems to be inclined to believe, such forms in Tamil arose from pro-ethnic Dravidian neuters through the composi-

1. C. D. G. 225.

2. *Nāṅkā v-ayrē y-āṭṭu v-ayrē-col.* (Tol. Col. 5.)

3. J. O. R. Vol. i, p. 4.

4. C. D. G. 229.

5. J. L. P. 383.

tion of certain pronominal elements denoting gender and number. However, a careful examination of the oldest available Tamil grammar, viz., Tolkāppiyam emboldens me to say that so far as Tamil, in its earliest period, is concerned, the gender in nouns must have been determined mainly by their *meanings* and not by their *suffixes*. It would be of advantage to bear in mind in this connection that Tolkāppiyāṇār plainly says that the suffixes *u*, *i*, *r*, etc. need not necessarily be used after *nouns* to indicate gender and number, though they must be invariably used after *verbs*.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Caldwell says that the epicene pluralising particles in Tamil are *ar*, *ār*, *ōr*; *ir*, *īr*<sup>2</sup>; *mar*, *mār*<sup>3</sup> and *var*<sup>4</sup>.

Since *ar*, *ār*, and *ōr* are used in connection with third person plurals and *ir* and *īr* in connection with second person plurals, it is evident that 'r' alone denotes the epicene plural as is mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār.

As regards 'var' he says that it is the abbreviated form of *avar*, on the basis of its presence in the word *uḍḍavar*. But it seems to me that, since *v* is only an intervocalic element in *oruvar*, *iruvar*, *mūvar*, *aivar*, *aruvar*, it may be said that *v* in *uḍḍavar* has crept in through analogy with the above forms; or it may have been the corrupted form of *mār*, since *m* can change to *v* very easily.

*What is the origin of mar?* It is worth investigating whether it is made up of the two pluralising particles *m* and *r* with a connecting vowel *a*. *M* is found to be the pluralising particle in the first personal pronoun *uḍḍm*, *yām* and in the oblique case base *em* and in the verbal terminations *em*, *ēm*, *kum*, *ṭum*, *lum* and *rum* of the first person plural. I am glad to see that M.J. Vinson

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1. *Irutiṇai maruṇṇi u-ai-m-pā i-aṇṇu*  
*Īrriṇṇi u-ai-kāḷḷum paṇṇi r-ēḷuttu*  
*Torruṇ ṭāmō uṇṇai-y-oṭu varum-ā.* (Tol. Col. 10.)
  2. C. D. G. 239.
  3. Ibid. 240.
  4. Ibid. 241.



already suggested this in 1911 in his article *La Pluriel Primitif em-M-* (J.A. Dixieme Serie Tome 17).

Again, Dr. Caldwell says that the verbal terminations *mar*, *mār* and *maṇār* are not identical with the epicene pluralising articles *mar* and *mār*, since in verbs *m* denotes the future tense as *b* or *v* and hence it may have been the modification of *b* or *v*. But this cannot be taken as absolutely true since Tolkāppiyāṇār has not definitely stated the tense signs, and makes us infer that the tense was determined mostly by context. This will be dealt with in detail in the section on verbs.

3.21332. *DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS*:—Pronouns may be divided into (1) Personal Pronouns (2) Demonstrative Pronouns (2) Reflexive Pronouns (4) Interrogative Pronouns (5) Relative Pronouns (6) Pronouns derived from numerals and (7) Indefinite Pronouns.

3.213321. *PERSONAL PRONOUNS*:—Personal pronouns consist of pronouns of the first person and the second person. There is no personal pronoun in Tamil for the third person since the demonstrative pronoun itself serves its purpose. The declension of the first and second personal pronouns in the ancient, medieval and modern periods is as follows:—

3.2133211. *FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN (ANCIENT PERIOD)*.

Case:	Singular:	Plural:	
1st case	yāṇ	yām	nām
2nd case	eṇṇai	eṇṇmai	naṇṇmai
3rd case	eṇṇāṇ } eṇṇoṭū }	{ eṇṇmāṇ { eṇṇmoṭū	{ naṇṇmāṇ { naṇṇmoṭū
4th case	eṇṇakkū	eṇṇakkū	naṇṇakkū
5th case	eṇṇin	eṇṇin	naṇṇin
6th case	eṇṇatū } eṇṇakkū }	{ eṇṇatū { eṇṇakkū	{ naṇṇatū { naṇṇakkū
7th case	eṇṇaṇ	eṇṇaṇ	naṇṇaṇ

(MEDIEVAL AND MODERN PERIODS)

	Singular :	Plural :
1st case yāṇ	nāṇ	yām, yāṇkaḷ; nām, nāṇkaḷ
2nd case eṇṇai		eṇṇmai, eṇṇkaḷai; naṇṇmai

<i>Singular :</i>	<i>Plural :</i>
3rd case <i>emūāl, emmoṭū, emnōṭū</i>	<i>emmāl, eṅkaḷāl; namūāl emmōṭū, eṅkaḷōṭū; nammoṭū emmoṭū, eṅkaḷōṭū; nammoṭū</i> }
4th case <i>emakkū (nēkkū colloq.)</i>	<i>emakkū, eṅkaḷakkū; namakkū</i>
5th case <i>emmiṇ</i>	<i>emmiṇ, eṅkaḷiṇ; nammiṇ</i>
6th case <i>emaṭū</i> (if it is followed by a singular noun) <i>ema</i> (if it is followed by a plural noun)	<i>ematū, eṅkaḷatū; namatū</i> (if it is followed by a singular noun) <i>ema eṅkaḷa; nama</i> (if it is follow- ed by a plural noun)
7th case <i>eṅkaṇ, eṇṇiḷ, etc.</i>	<i>eṅkaṇ, eṅkaḷiṅkaṇ, naṅkaṇ, etc.</i>

(The *collurupū* like *ṣoruṭṭū*, etc. mentioned by the author of Viracōḷiyam and the later grammarians are also added in all periods.)

**YĀN NĀN:** As regards the first person singular nominative Tolkāppiyānār has mentioned only *yāṇ*.<sup>1</sup> The authors of Viracōḷiyam and Nappūḷ and the later grammarians have mentioned *nāṇ* also. They have done so since *nāṇ* began to be used in literature before the time of the author of Viracōḷiyam. The following quotations may serve as examples for the same. *Nāṇ ceṇṇu nāṭi* (I having approached) (P. T. 128.1.); *nāṇ ṓr iṇṇai kōṇṇē* (I do not find any help-mate) (T. V. 25.10.). The form *nāṇ* may have been formed through analogy with *nām*, the nominative case plural.

**Eṇṇōṭū:** As regards *eṇṇōṭū*, the third case singular, it is evident that it has been formed from *emmoṭū* by the lengthening of *o* to *ō*.

**Eṇa:** As regards *a* in *eṇa* as a sixth case-suffix, vide 3.213232. *supra*.

**Yām, yāṅkaḷ; nām, nāṅkaḷ:** Tolkāppiyānār has mentioned only *yām* and *nām*.<sup>2</sup> The author of Viracōḷiyam has mentioned

1. *Tāṇ-vā ṇ-ceṇṇu m-āyi r-iṇṇutiyum*  
*Mēṇ muṇ peyoraṇṇu vēyupḷā ṭ-ilavō.* (Tol. E. 193.)
2. *Tā-nā m-ēṇṇu makara v-iṇṇutiyum*  
*Yām-e ṇ-iṇṇutiyu m-atavōṭ r-ceṇṇa*  
*Ā-ey y-āḷum yām-e ṇ-iṇṇuṭi*  
*Yā-mayiy paḷara-mey kaḷutal v-ēṇṇum*  
*Ēṇai y-iṇṇuṭu n-ē-mutal kaṇṇakum.*

in V. V. 91 that *nām* is used as honorific singular and *nāñkaḷ* as plural. Its commentator adds *yām* to the former and *yāñkaḷ* to the latter. Evidently *yāñkaḷ* and *nāñkaḷ* are cases of double plurals. It is worth noting that *kaḷ* can be used only after *m* the pluralising particle, unlike some *nyartṭai* nouns like *vacukkaḷ*, *nōṇṇikaḷ* where *kaḷ* is directly added to the singular form of the noun. Such forms are not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyagār. They are found, it seems, for the first time in Cilappatikāram. (e.g. *yāñkaḷum*—Cilap. 298.161.) Though Nannūlar mentions only *yām*, *nām* in Na. 287, yet the forms *yāñkaḷ* and *nāñkaḷ* are acceptable to him under the general sūtra No. 278. The later grammarians have followed the authors of Vīracōḷiyam and Nannūl. The reason why the author of Vīracōḷiyam says so is that examples where *nām* is used as honorific singular, and *nāñkaḷ* and *yāñkaḷ* as plurals were found in plenty in the literature written before his time. The necessity for the forms *yāñkaḷ*, *nāñkaḷ* may have arisen from the desire of the speakers to distinguish the plural from the honorific singular. The following quotations may serve as examples:—

*Yām piṇṇiḷa neṭṇai yāṇai* (Elephant caught by me yesterday) (P.N. 162.5.) Here *yām* is honorific singular.

*Nām toḷutum eṇ neñcamē* (I worship; oh! mind rise) (P.T. 120.1.) Here *nām* is honorific singular.

*Nāñkaḷ nyyēmē* (We will not live.) (P.T. 92.1.)

*Yāñkaḷum nūṇṇippaḷarkutum* (We shall also go through the long path.) (Cilap. 469.4.)

*Eñkaḷai, eñkaḷōl*, etc. These are double plurals formed from the base *eṇ*, but not from the other base *nam*.

*Ena, eñkaḷa; nama:* The reason for the appearance of these forms is the same as that for *eṇa*.

The following quotations may serve for the forms of double plurals mentioned above.

*Nañkaḷ perumṇai* (our lord) (T.V. 7.67).

*Eñkaḷ perumāṇ* (our lord) (T.V. 7.75).

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1. See f. n. 37 *infra*. (ibid. 189.)

*Eñkaḷ māl īraivan* (our lord Viṣṇu) (P.T. 112.2).

*Eñkaḷukku aruḷ ceykiṇṇa īcaṇai* (God who shows grace to us) (P.T. 151.3).

It may be noted that words having the sixth case-suffix omitted are much larger in number than those with them.

*Ū* in *yāṇ*, *aṇṇai*, *aṇṇōḷi*, etc. This may have been the particle denoting the masculine singular. Originally, these words may have been used by the male member of a family and they may have been used even by the female member. But Dr. Caldwell does not agree with this view.<sup>1</sup>

He says "I think it unsafe, however, to conclude from this or from any of the facts mentioned, that the initial *n* of *nāṇ* is of modern origin..... *Nāṇ* is represented as we have seen, as alternating with *yāṇ* in the most authoritative grammar of the classical Tamil."<sup>2</sup> He has made this statement only on the strength of *Naṇṇūl*. He would not have made this statement had he seen that *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has not made mention of *nāṇ*.

Dr. Caldwell says "In all the Dravidian dialects with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called the *plural inclusive*; the other excludes the party addressed and denotes only the party of the speaker and may be called *plural exclusive*. The colloquial Tamil forms the plural exclusive from *nām*, the ordinary regular plural by addition of *gaḷ*, which is properly a neuter sign of plurality."<sup>3</sup> This is not wholly true even so far as the modern colloquial Tamil is concerned, since *nām* may also denote third persons standing by the side of the speaker. Since at the time of *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, there were not two forms, but only one form, there was absolutely no room for the classification as the plural exclusive and the plural inclusive. The author of *Viracōḷiyam* says that *nām* was used as honorific singu-

1. C. D. G. 370.

2. Ibid. 367.

3. Ibid. 414 and 415.

lar and *nāikaḷ* as plural.<sup>1</sup> But the author of Nannūḷ mentions in connection with the personal terminations at the end of verbs that *am* and *ēu* are used in the first person plural to include the person spoken to, and *em*, *ēu* and *ōu* to exclude the person spoken to.<sup>2</sup>

*Nēkkū*: The initial vowel *e* in *enakkū* is dropped and consequently a following *ṇ* is changed to *e* and then lengthened to *ē* by compensation. Since *ṇ* cannot be initial, it is changed to *n*. The existence of two different bases *eṇ* and *nam* in the oblique cases, respectively of the singular and plural in Tamil is similar to that of the bases *mat* and *asmat* of the 1st person singular and plural in Sanskrit. Besides, the element *m* is found in the plural bases of both.

*Collective first personal pronoun*: There is a collective first personal pronoun *elām* mentioned by Nannūḷār (Na. 287). This remains the same in all cases, and is preceded by the oblique forms of *yām* and *nām* as *cinmai-y-elām*, *nammai-y-elām*, *eṅkaḷai-y-elām*, etc. Another collective personal pronoun is *ellām* which is said to be used for all personal pronouns. (Tol. E. 190 & 191, and Na. 285.) This *ellām* was declined at the time of Tolkāppiyar as *ellānammaiṇum*, *ellānamnūṇum*, etc., if it referred to first or second personal pronoun or *nyartṭai* demonstrative pronoun. It seems to me that, since the forms *ellirum* and *ellārum* and their oblique forms were exclusively used in the second, and the third, person respectively, *ellānammaiṇum* began to be used only to denote the first person at a later time. (Na. 245. K.) But at the present day it is not thus

1. *Uṇṇum-eṇṇum-taṇṇum yārum-aṇṇum-iṇu m-aṇṇum-eṇṇum*  
*Eṇṇum-maṇṇiṇ-muṇṇi nī-nāṇ-ṭāṇ-cu-e-veriḷ yā-mutala*  
*Paṇṇum-valluṇ-taṇṇum vaiyū-ṇiṇ-ṇā-moṇ-ēlām*  
*Piṇṇiḷ-aṇṇum-var paḷar-iṇ-kaḷḷāḷ-ṇar kaḷ-ḷ-eṇ-paṇi.* (V. V. 9.)
2. *Am-ām eṇ-paṇu muṇṇilai y-āraiṇum*  
*Em-ēm ōm-iṇai paṭarṅkai y-āraiṇum*  
*Um-ūr ka-ṭa-ṇa iṇu-pā l-āraiṇum*  
*Taṇ-ṇ-otū paṇṅkūn taṇmai-p paṇmai.* (Na. 333.)

declined, the form *ellām* itself being used after the case forms *nammai*, *nammaḷ*, etc. (e. g. *nammai-y-ellām*, *nammaḷ-ellām*, etc.) Sanskrit does not have a similar collective first personal pronoun.

3.2133212. *Second Personal Pronoun (Ancient Period).*

Case:	Singular:	Plural:
1st case	<i>nī<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>nīyir<sup>2</sup></i>
2nd case	<i>ninṇai</i>	<i>nummai</i>
3rd case	<i>ninṇoṭṭū, ninṇōṭṭu</i>	<i>nummoṭṭū, nummoṭṭu</i>
4th case	<i>ninṇakkū</i>	<i>numakkū</i>
5th case	<i>ninṇiṇ</i>	<i>numniṇ</i>
6th case	<i>ninṇatū, ninṇakkū</i>	<i>numatū, numakkū</i>
7th case	<i>ninṇaṇ</i>	<i>numaṇ</i>

(Medieval and Modern Periods).

Case:	Singular:	Plural:
1st case <i>nī</i>		<sup>3</sup> <i>nīyir, nīvir, nīr; nīyirkaḷ, nīvirkaḷ, nīrkaḷ, nīm, nīṇkaḷ.</i>
2nd case <i>ninṇai, ninṇai, ninṇai</i>		<i>nummai, nummai, nūkaḷai.</i>
3rd case <i>ninṇōḷ, ninṇōḷ, ninṇōḷ</i>		<i>nummoḷ, nummoḷ, nūkaḷōḷ.</i>
<i>ninṇoṭṭū, ninṇoṭṭū, ninṇoṭṭū.</i>		<i>nummoṭṭū, nummoṭṭū, nūkaḷoṭṭū.</i>
<i>ninṇōṭṭū, ninṇōṭṭū, ninṇōṭṭū.</i>		<i>nummoṭṭū, nummoṭṭū, nūkaḷōṭṭū.</i>
4th case <i>ninṇakkū, ninṇakkū, ninṇakkū</i>		<i>numakkū, numakkū, nūkaḷakkū.</i>
(nōkkū-Colloq.)		

1. *Nī-y-e ṇ-oru-payer neṭumutal kaṇṇukum*  
*Avayī ṇ-akara m-orṇā kummē.* (Tol. E. 180.)  
*Avayṇāḷ*  
*Nī-y-eṇ kiḷavi y-orumai-k ē-urittē.* (Tol. Col. 189.)
2. *Nīyir nī-y-eṇ varūṇ kiḷavi*  
*Pāṇeri pīlacē y-aṭaṇ-moḷi-p poruḷa.* (ibid. 188.)  
*Ḍṇai-k kiḷavi paṇmai-k ē-urittē.* (ibid. 190.)
3. *Tāṇmai pāṇ-nāṇ yām.nām muṇṇṇai*  
*Ellir nīyir nīyir nīr nī*  
*Alṇa paṇarṇkai ellā m-eṇal potu.* (Na. 285.)

Case:	Singular:	Plural:
5th case	<i>nīyir, nūyir, uyir</i>	<i>nūmūir, ummūir, uñkaḷir.</i>
6th case	<i>nīyatū, nūyatū, uyatū</i> <i>nina, nuna, una</i>	<i>nūmatū, umatū, uñkaḷatū.</i> <i>nūma, uma.</i>
7th case	<i>nūkan, nūkan, ukan,</i> etc.	<i>nūñkan, uñkan, uñkaḷiñkan,</i> etc.

*Nīyir*: The nominative form *nīyir* is said to have been derived from the oblique case form *nūm* by Tolkāppiyāṇār<sup>1</sup> and hence it may be said that it was later than the oblique case form *nūm*. It also seems to me that it may have been derived from *nī* by the addition of *ir* the pluralising particle of the second person.

*Nīr* and *NĪRKAL* are mentioned by the author of Viracōḷiyam. *Nīr* is only the contracted form of *nīyir* or *nīvir*, and *nīrkaḷ* is evidently double plural. Its commentator mentions that, sometimes, *nīyirkaḷ* and *nīvirkaḷ* also are used.<sup>2</sup>

*Nīm* is found in Cīvakaśintāmaṇi and it is stated in its commentary that it is a *tiṇai-c-col*. It may have been borrowed from Canarese or may have been formed from *nī* through analogy with *nām, tām*, etc. This form is not found in any work written before Cīvakaśintāmaṇi.

*NĪYIR, NĪVIR* and *NĪR* are mentioned by the author of Naṇṇūl. *Nīvir* may have been formed by the substitution of *v* for *y* between *i* and *i* in *nī + ir* through analogy with *i-v-i-ṭam* (*i-v-i-ṭam*), etc. Since it is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār and it is not found in the earlier Sangam works, it may have been of later origin.

*NĪNKAL* is a double plural formed from the plural *nīm*. This form is not found in works written before Cīvakaśintāmaṇi. It is the only form that is now very largely used not only as honorific singular like *nīr* but also as plural.

Paṇmaiyl *nīrkaḷ, uñkaḷ*... eṇavum varum; *nīrkaḷ eṇpatū nīyirkaḷ nīvirkaḷ eṇa ālūcam ātalum uṇṭū*. (V. V. 9. Comm.)

1. *Nūm-m-iṅ ṇīrī-peyar nūṇāvin peyar-eṇṇū*  
*A-m-muṇai y-ir-aṇṇu m-aṇṇiṇṇai piyalum*. (Tol. Col. 143.)  
*Nūm-m-e n-ṇṇai y-i-ṇṇai pāḷum*. (Tol. R. 188.)
2. V. V. 9. comm. cf. i. n. under 4.1 *supra*.

The following quotations may serve as examples for the forms mentioned above :—

*Nīnō* *peranna* (you are great). (P, N, 5.3.)

*Ninnai y-jundhera v-arani kurye* (the god of death who has unmeritoriously taken away your life). (P.N. 255.3.)

*Ninnotu paraiya* (to fight with you). (Pari, 11.67.)

*Ninakke iruppu tannai* (your wonderful quality).  
(Pari. 23.3.)

*Niggin ciranta niy taḥḥai* (your feet which are superior to you). (Pari. 29.62.)

*Nīyiru m-irunilaṅ kaḷanta* (even you having crossed the wide tract). (Pattu. 131.28.)

*Varuṇa nīyirum* (you too better come). (Pattu. 100, 143.)

*Nīr...tolamimē* (you better worship). (T. 19.1.)

*Nir mlāṅkaḥ vāntā* (you will not desire). (C. C. 745.)

*Atiyeṇ vantaḍaivaniṁ* (I, the slave, will resort to you).  
(C. C. 563.)

Nāhka! nāhkaunip (you better see). (C. C. 1045.)

Nīvaṃ aṇṇaṃ (you five). (Kamphaṇ, A. 725,67.)

*Unkal kulattutittörkakkellöör* (to all who are born in your family). (Kampar, K. 247.78.)

What is the origin of the base 'UN' in the singular found in the medieval and modern periods? It seems to me that it was evolved out of the base *nin* of the ancient period in the following way:—First of all we see the form *nun* used in the following sentences:—

*Nuṇa ciraṭi nḍa* (to make your little feet suffer).  
(C. C. 1517.)

*Nunpati-p-peyarkkum* (going to your residence). (P. K. i. 32.93.)

of *Civakacintāmaṇi* and *Peruṅkatai*, respectively, works written between the 9th and 10th cent. A. D. *Nuṅ* may have been formed from *niṅ* by changing *i* to *u* through analogy with the vowel *u* found in the plural base *num*. Then in collocations like *nuṅkōṭṭu-nuṅṇai*, . . (M. M. 283.100) which admit of being split up in two ways—*nuṅkōṭṭu + nuṅṇai* and *nuṅkōṭṭu +*



*unmai*, the latter alternative may have been adopted, and thus the form *un* may have come into being. Now that the first appearance of *un* is accounted for, it would scarcely be difficult to imagine how such a form may easily have become generalised. The following illustrations would make clear how such wrong splittings not infrequently serve as fruitful sources of new doublets in phrases involving sandhi between final *g* and initial *n*.

For instance in *nōuyy nūltu nānuntu kanyē* (T. V. 1037.), the expression *nānuntu* is shown by Dr. Pope to be capable of being split in two ways as *nān + nuntu* and *nāy + untu* though the earlier form *nuntu* appears in the sentence *nuntum pantappperumai* (T. V. 6.187). From this it will be seen how the doublet *untu* arose beside the earlier *nuntu*. Similarly in '*putalvarār polintā-guntai*' found in the *Vipitayan-ataikkala-p-paṭalam* of the *Yuttakāṇṭam* in *Kamparāmāyaṇam*, the expression *polintāyuntai* was wrongly split into *polintāy* and *untai* and the doublet *untai* arose beside the earlier *nuntai* recognised by *Tolkāppiyāṇār*. (Cf. Tol. E. 67.)

Forms with the base *un* are not at all found in the early works of Sangam period like *Puranānūṟu*, *Akanānūṟu* etc. They begin to appear in very few instances in *Maṇimēkalai* and are freely used in *Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam*, *Nālāyirappirapantam* and other works written between the 5th and 9th centuries and they have almost ousted the old forms with the base *nig* in the modern period. The following may serve as examples for the same.

*Niṇ peruntunṇam* (your great suffering). (M.M. 172.43.)

*Orutani niṇṇāy nūriram arintēṇ* (you stood alone and  
I understood your power). (M. M. 50.96.)

*Unṇaṭiyēṇ unai niṇaintāl* (if I, your servant think of  
you). (T. 31.2.) (*unai* for *unṇai*).

*Unṇai yāṇ pīrinta nāl* (the day when I gave birth to  
you). (C. C. 2100.)

*Unatu aṭiyē caraṇamē* (your feet are my refuge). (P. T.  
150.9.)

*Unmēl āṭaram pēritū* (regard for you is great). (P. T.  
46.9.)

*Uṇ manallāl* (with your mind). (P. T. 44.1.)

*Uṇ aṭiyār-lāl paṇivōm* (we will worship the feet of your devotees). (T. V. 7.36.)

*Uṇakkē aṭaikkalam* (we are under you). (T. V. 7.73.)

*Uṇnai-p-pūy-āka* (thinking you a stranger). (T. V. 7.35.)

Similarly the base *num* may have been replaced by *un*. Then the particle *kaḷ* may have been added to the base *un* so that we have two bases *un* and *uṇkaḷ*. In modern times, the base *un* is used in connection with honorific singular, and *uṇkaḷ* with plural. The following may serve as examples for the same :—

*Uṇakku inta nāṭṭē vantu toṇṭarāṇa nāṇkaḷ* (we who have come to this country and become your devotees). (P. T. 93.7.)

*Uṇakkē āḷāy* (being your men). (P. T. 92.4.)

*Uṇkaḷ kulattutittōrkkellām* (to all who have been born in your family). (Kāmpar. K. 247.78.)

**NŌKKO** : The first syllable in *uṇakkū* is dropped on the principle of economy of effort and *a* is made the guttaro-labial vowel *o* by the influence of the labial *u*, before it is dropped.

The existence of two different bases *uṇ* and *num* in the ancient period for the oblique cases respectively of the second person singular and second person plural in Tamil is similar to that of the base *tvat* and *vasmat* in the singular and plural of the second person in Sanskrit. Also the elements *u* and *m* are found in the plural bases of both.

**COLLECTIVE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN** : Tolkāp-piṇṇār mentions that *ellārum* is second person and should be declined as *ellār-nummaiyum*, *ellār-nummoṣum*, etc. (Tol.E. 192). Nannūḷār mentions *ellār* in the nominative case (Na. 287) and *ellārunummaiyum*, etc. in the oblique cases (Na. 246). Besides *ellām* may be used along with the oblique cases of the second person. But at present, the use of the oblique case forms of *ellārum* have died out and those of *ellōrum*, the demonstrative form in *nyartinaḷ* and its poetical form *ellōrum* are used instead.

e.g. *mākaḥ ellāraiṇum vara-c-connāḥ* or *mākaḥ ellāraiṇum vara-c-connāḥ* (she asked all of you to come). Sanskrit does not possess a similar collective second personal pronoun.

3.213322. *DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS* are of three kinds :—(1) Remote Demonstrative Pronoun (2) Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun and (3) Intermediate Demonstrative Pronoun.

3.2133221. *REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN* assumes in the ancient period the following forms in the nominative case—*avaṅ* in masculine singular, *avaḥ* in feminine singular, *avar* in epicene plural, *atu* or *astū* in neuter singular and *avai* and *av* in neuter plural. (e.g.) *avum piṇṇam* (they and others) (Pari. 26.23). But in medieval and modern periods there are two forms *avar* and *avarkaḥ* in epicene plural and two forms *avai* and *avaiḥ* in neuter plural. The oblique cases are formed by adding case-suffixes to the nominative forms without any change.

3.2133222. Similarly the forms of the *PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN* in the nominative case are *iṇṇ*, *iṇai*, *iṇar* and *iṇarkaḥ*, *itu* or *iṭṭi* and *ivai*, *iv* and *ivaiḥ*. (e.g.) *iṇum iṇum* (these and those) (Pari. 26.23). The oblique cases too are formed in the same manner as in the Remote Demonstrative Pronoun.

3.2133223. Similarly the forms of the *INTERMEDIATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN* in the nominative case are *uṇṇ*, *uṇai*, *uṇar*, *uṇu* or *uṇṇi*, *uṇai* and *uv*. These forms are gradually going out of use.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar<sup>1</sup> says, 'Old Tamil usage, however, clearly indicates that, in its inception, *u* was a far demonstrative and it is used as such in the Oldest Tamil works.' He derives *u* from *ava* through the intermediate stages *ō* and *ū*. Then he says that 'the demonstrative element *u* is of comparatively late origin.' The examples he quotes where *u*, according to him, is far demonstrative are from works which are later than *Tolkāppiyam*.

1. "Āryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronoun" read in the Third All India Oriental Conference, Madras, p. 7.

In Tolkāppiyam, *uvay*, *avaḷ*, *utu* and *uvai* are mentioned along with *avar*, *avaḷ*, *atu* and *avai*. If both the demonstrative elements *u* and *a* had had the same function at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, one of them would have died out even at his time. *U* may have been used in his time to denote objects at a distance and *a* to denote objects at remote distance.

*Avar* and *ivar* were used as honorific singular and *avarkaḷ* and *ivarkaḷ* as plurals at the time of the author of Viracōliyam (V. V. 9). But now *avar*, *avarkaḷ*, *ivar* and *ivarkaḷ* are all used both as honorific singular and plural. The *a* in Tamil *avay*, *avaḷ*, etc., and *i* in *ivay*, *ivaḷ*, etc. respectively have their parallels in Sanskrit, in *a* of *tat* and *i* of *idam*.

There was a collective third person plural pronoun which had the form of *ellārum* in the nominative case and *ellārtammai-yum*, *ellārtammoṭum*, etc. in the oblique cases. The insertion of *tan* is almost extinct in modern speech. Similarly, *ellām* in the nominative case and *ellānammai-yum*, *ellānammoṭum*, etc. and *ellāvarrai-yum* and *ellāvarroṭum*, etc. in the oblique cases were used along with pronouns of the epicene plural and neuter plural respectively. (Tol. E. 190 and 191.) Even in ancient period the forms *ellārai-yum* and *ellāroṭum*, etc. were used in place of *ellānammai-yum*, *ellānammoṭum*, etc. e.g. *kaṭavṇar ellārkkum* (to all gods). (Ka. T. ii, 559.36.) In the later periods if they are used along with the nouns in oblique cases which they qualify, the nominative form itself is used. e.g. *nyīrkkelām* (to all living beings). (Kampar. B. 3312.)

3.213323. *REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS* are respectively *tāy* and *tām* in the nominative singular and plural. They are shortened to *taṇ* and *tan* in the oblique cases before they take case-suffixes. *Tām* also takes *kaḷ* in the modern period as other pronouns. The form *tāṅkaḷ* is now used as an honorific second person singular also, when it is followed by a verb of the second person plural.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar says that "*taṇ* was in its inception merely a pronoun of the third person, and that a reflexive meaning has come to be superimposed so as to overshadow

its original sense to such an extent that it has now come to be called the Reflexive Pronoun"<sup>1</sup> From the examples he has quoted it seems to me that the reverse may have been the case; for since there were the demonstrative pronouns *avay*, *avai*, *atē*, etc., there would be no need for another kind of pronoun of the third person in *tāy*. Tolkāppiyāṇār states that *tāy* and *tām* are respectively used in the singular and plural. He has not mentioned that they should be used only in the third person; besides, from the context of the sūtras dealing with *tāy* and *tām*, it is clear that he thinks that they could be used along with the pronouns of all persons and genders. Since the examples quoted by R. Swaminatha Aiyar are from works later than Tolkāppiyam, it seems to me that *tāy* and *tām* were originally reflexive in origin and their use has been so extended that they are used even as demonstrative pronouns.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar traces *tāy* to R. V. *tann* and *tām* to *tanān*<sup>2</sup> but in the present state of my knowledge, I cannot agree with him.

3.213324. *INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN*: The forms of Interrogative Pronouns that are found in Tolkāppiyam are *yāvan*, *yāvaḷ*, *yāvar*, *yāṇar*, *yār*, *yāvalā*, *yā*, *yāvai*, and *evan*. Tolkāppiyāṇār says that *yāṇar* can be used as the logical predicate of masculine singular noun, feminine singular noun and epicene plural nouns,<sup>3</sup> and that *evan* may be used along with neuter singular and neuter plural<sup>4</sup> and also when the gender of the object that is questioned is not clear.<sup>5</sup> The oblique forms too at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār had the base *yā*. In the medieval

1. *Ibid.* p. 45.

2. *Ibid.* p. 47.

3. *Yaa r-eyyum vīṇavāṇ kīḷavi*

*A-t-tīṇai maruṇṇiṇ mu-p-pārku m-urittā.*

(Tol. Col. 219.)

4. *A-t-tīṇai maruṇṇi g-iru-pār kīḷavikkum*

*Okku m-eyya v-eyyan-ey vīṇavē.* (ibid. 219.)

5. *Yatu-eva n-eyyum m-āyiru kīḷavīyum*

*Āṇiṇ-p poruḷ-vayir ceṇiya-t tūṇrum.* (ibid. 31.)

period *evaiḱaḱ* and *evarkāḱ* also were used. In the modern period the forms, *evay*, *evaḱ*, *ēvar*, *etu* and *evai*, *evayai*, *evaḱai*, *ēvarai*, *etai* or *etayai*, *ēvarrai* have almost taken the place of *yāvaṅ*, *yāvaḱ*, *yāvar*, *yāttu*, *yāvai*, *yāvayai*, *yāvaḱai*, *yāvarai*, *yātai* or *yātaṅai*, *yāvarrai*, etc. Hence the original interrogative root was *yā*. But Tolkāppiyāṇār himself mentions an interrogative form *evay* and takes *ē* as one interrogative root and makes use of such words as *e-p-pōrnḱ*, *e-p-payar*, etc. Hence it seems to me that, before the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, *yā* may have been the base of the forms in the nominative case e.g. *yāvarum piṇarum*—(Pari. 55.8.) and *e* the base of forms in the oblique cases and that, at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, the base *yā* was generalised throughout e.g. *yāvarḱkum cāyāḱ niṇatū*—(Pari. 9.55.) and at the later periods *e* began to be generalised throughout e.g. *evayum itai-e-cēyvāṅ* (any one can do this), *evarkkum ita eḱitū*, (this is easy for any one to do) etc.—(Colloq.)

Dr. Caldwell thinks that *yā* was the original form and that *ē* must have been corrupted from it. But since the root *e* is found in the form *evay* mentioned by him and *ē* is used as syntactic interrogative from the earliest times, it is also probable that *e* or *ē* may have been the original and *yā* may have been formed from it through analogy with *yāṅ*, which may have been formed from the oblique base *ey*.

In addition to these interrogative pronouns, there are three interrogative roots, *ā*, *ē* and *ō* which serve as syntactic interrogatives and are added at the end of nouns or verbs. e.g. *Avayā vantāy?* (did he come). *Avay vantānā?* (did he come). *Avay? vantāy?* (did he come). *Avayō vantāy?* (did he come). *Avay vantāyō?* (did he come). Some of these as *ā* and *ō* denote mere question and the third *ē* denotes doubt etc.

3.213325. *RELATIVE PRONOUNS*: Tolkāppiyāṇār and other grammarians have not stated anything about relative pronouns. The purpose of the relative pronouns is served by the participles e.g.

*Uṇṇi-koṭuttōr uyir-koṭuttōrē* (food-givers are life givers).  
(P.N. 18.19.)

*Ceyvinaṭ-ḱ-ḱ-ḱirnta leṭṭar* (enemies who were against  
the actions done). (P.N. 6.11.)

*Nirayaṇ koḷḷavarottu* (with those who go to hell). (P.N.  
5.6.)

*Cērvāy-ḱ-ḱ-ḱaṇṭai* (if you see him who will mix with  
you). (T. 25.2.)

But in Maṇimēkalai and some of the later works the interrogative pronouns began to be used in certain instances as relative pronouns. This, it seems to me, is due to the adaptation of Sanskrit sentence form in Tamil. For instance, sentences like 'yātōṇṇu yātōṇṇu mūrttam aṭu aṇittam' (whichever is *mūrtta* is *aṇitya*) are found in plenty in Maṇimēkalai. This sentence is exactly the translation of the Sanskrit sentence 'yat yat mūrttam, tat tat aṇityam'. The same idea may be expressed in Tamil as 'mūrttam āṇaṭu aṇittam'.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar says that "the Sanskrit masculine *yāvan* appears to have been one of the earliest relative interrogative forms adopted in Tamil and other Dravidian languages". Two points are to be noted here :—(1) *Yāvan* is only a relative pronoun in Sanskrit and is never an interrogative, and it exists from a very ancient period; while the relative pronoun in Tamil is a recent introduction and *yāvay* in Tamil was originally an interrogative pronoun; (2) Besides, if *yāvay* was derived from *yāvan*, why should the second *a* be shortened in Tamil? Again he says, "the interrogative *e* which appears initially in composition as in Tamil *e-p-peyar* . . . has apparently arisen from the imitation of such Sanskrit compounds and combinations as *yat-kāma* . . . *yāt-kāraṇa*, etc. This *e* is another of the earliest relative interrogative forms adopted in the Dravidian languages. It is possible that the base *yad* has also given rise to the Dravidian pronouns, *edu*, *edi*." This appears to me to be an extreme view. The form *etu* in Tamil is only of later origin. The corresponding form is *yāvatū* in Tolkāppiyam. The *e* of *e-ḱ-kālam* is formed in the same way as *a-ḱ-kālam*, *i-ḱ-kālam*, since, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'the Demonstrative and Interrogative bases are built up on those bases in precisely the same manner and obey one and the same law.'

3.213326. *PRONOUNS DERIVED FROM NUMERALS :*

They are of two kinds, viz., *oruvar*, *oruzar*, *iruzar*, *mūvar*, etc. which belong to *uyartiṇai* and *onrē*, *iraṇṭē*, *māṇṭē*, etc., which belong to *aṣṭiṇai*. The oblique cases of the former set of words are formed by adding the case-suffixes directly to them. In the modern period the forms *iruvarkaḷaiyumu*, *iruvarkaḷdīumu*, etc. which are formed by adding the suffix *kaḷ* to *iruzar*, *mūvar*, etc., before adding the case-suffixes are also in use. The oblique cases of the latter set of words are generally formed by adding the flexional increment *ay* between them and the case-suffixes, e.g. *oraṇaiyumu*, *iraṇṭaiyumu*, etc. The form *oruzar* was used at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār when the speaker was not sure whether the person he spoke of was a man or a woman. *R* in *oruzar* does not denote plural number.

3.213327. *INDEFINITE PRONOUNS :* *ṭalla*, *ṭala*, *cila*, *uḷḷa*, *illa*—these words which correspond to indefinite pronouns are included by Tolkāppiyāṇār in the list of *aṣṭiṇai* words. Evidently they are plurals. Their oblique cases are formed by adding the flexional increment *varru* after them and before case-suffixes. e.g. *ṭalla-varrai*, *cila-varrai*, etc.

*Palar* and *cilar* are not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār in the list of *uyartiṇai* nouns ; yet he makes use of *ṭalar* in the sūtra *ṭalarāṇi collē* (Tol. Col. 7). They are found freely used in Puṛaṇāṅgūṇ and other works later than Tolkāppiyam. e.g. *māyṇṭiciyōr ṭalarē* (many have died). (P.N. 27.6.) *ṭāṭṭumu uṭaiyōr cilarē* (there are a few who have songs composed on them). (P. N. 27.5.)

The word *ṭiṛa* also may be placed on a level with *ṭalla*, *ṭala*, etc. In the medieval period, *kaḷ* came to be added to it, e.g. *ṭoyṭṭoruḷ ṭiṛakaḷ* (other unreal objects). (C. C. 468.) *cilai-kaḷum ṭiṛakaḷum* (and other stones). (C. C. 2158). From *ṭiṛa*, the form of *ṭiṛar* may have been evolved, e.g. *ṭiṛar vēṇṭu ṭulam* (land desired by others). (Pattu. 197.80) : *ṭiṛarum kūṭi* (even others having joined). (Pattu. 232.518.) This too got the addition of *kaḷ* in the medieval period, e.g. *ṭiṛanta-v-aḷḷuḷavikaḷ ṭiṛarkaḷ yōvarum* (those born infants and others). (C. C. 2834.)



3.214. *NUMERALS*: 3.2141. *CARDINALS*: According to Tolkāppiyāṇār, *onṛū*, *iraṇṭū*, etc. are considered *peyar* when they mean one person or object, two persons or objects, etc.<sup>1</sup>. The number corresponding to *seven* is *ēḷ* at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār, while *ḍu* has displaced it in the later periods. There is a tendency at the present day to use the word *orupattū* in place of *pattū*. It seems this tendency existed even in the ancient period (cf. Tol. E. 471 and 472) and in the 12th century since it is found in the inscriptions of that period, e. g. *nāṟṟoru-pattēlum* (one hundred and seven). (S. I. L. iii, i. 72.15 :) *iraṇṭṟ-orupattum* (two hundred and ten). (S. I. L. iii, i. 78.5.)

The substantive numerals, except *onṛū* are sometimes used as numeral adjectives, e. g. *iraṇṭu maṇitarkaḷ* (two men). When they are used as adjectives, they are not declined as in Sanskrit, i. e., whatever be the case of the noun that it qualifies, only the nominative form is used, e. g. *iraṇṭu maṇilarai*, *mūṇṟu maḱkaḷāl* etc.

3.2142. *ORDINAL NUMBERS* are formed in Tamil directly from the cardinal numbers by adding *ām*, the shortened form of the verbal participle *ākam*. Hence we get the forms *onṛām*, *iraṇṭām*, etc. Similarly *āvatu* is added in place of *ām*. Hence we get the forms *onṛāvatū*, *iraṇṭāvatū* etc. Besides there is another form *mutal* for the first ordinal.

3.22. *VINAI*: 3.221. *DEFINITION*: Tolkāppiyāṇār states that *vinai* does not take the case-suffix but is found generally denoting the tense also<sup>2</sup>. This is taken to be the definition of verb by his commentators; but it seems to me that Tolkāppiyāṇār did not intend it to be so, since the word *kālamotū* in the above sūtra suggests that the verb denotes something else besides time, and the word *nipaiyūṇkālai* suggests that it is not compulsory that the verb should always denote time. This is borne out by the fact that the *kuṟippu-vinai* or appellative verb

1. cf. *Inaittega-k kiḷakku m-onṇu-k-kuṟi-p-peyarum* in Tol. Col. 168. cf. F. N. 7 in p. 106.

2. *Vinai y-eṇa-p paṭuvatu vēṇṟumai kollātu Nipaiyūṇkālai-k kālamotū tōṇṟum.* (Tol. Col. 198.)

like *kāṇakanūṭṭanai* (you are the lord of jungle tract) (P. N. 5.3.) does not denote time. Hence, in my opinion, Tolkāppiyāṇār does not intend this sūtra to be the definition of *viṇai* or verb. Then one may ask what its definition is. I think that he suggests it by the name *viṇai* itself which means action. In choosing that term he may have had in his mind the statements '*taṭ ākhyātam yēna bhāvam*' (R. V. P. 12.5.) and '*kriyāvācakan ākhyātam*' (S. Y. V. P. 8.46).

The author of Viracōliyam also does not attempt to define *viṇai*, but suggests it by his word '*toḷṭṭipataṇ*' in V.K. 1. The author of Nēminātam repeats '*viṇai-y-eyu-p-paṭṭa . . .*' (Tol. Col. 198.) But Nannūlār seems to define *viṇai* as that which denotes *ceyvavaṇ* or doer, *karuvi* or instrument, *nīlam* or place, *ceyal* or action, *kālam* or time and *ceyporuḷ* or object<sup>1</sup>. This cannot be its definition since a verb cannot denote all the above six things but generally only action and time and person. It is almost certain that this sūtra is only an adaptation of the sūtra

*Viṇai-y-ē ceyvatu cevu-p-paṭṭu poruḷē*  
*Nīlan-ē kālan karuvi y-eyṭā*  
*Iṇṇataṭ k-iṭu-paya v-āka v-eyvum*  
*Anna maraṭṭi v-iraṇṭoṭu-n tokaii*  
*Ā-y-eṭ ṭ-eyba toḷṭṭi-muta ṇilaiyē.* (Tol. Col. 112.)

where it is said that, generally, eight things precede an action, i.e., *viṇai*<sup>2</sup> or *kṛti* mentioned by Sanskrit logicians, *ceyvati* or

1. *Ceyvavaṇ karuvi nīlan ceyal kālam*

*Ceyporuḷ ārum taruvatu viṇaiyē.* (Na. 320.)

2. It is worth noting that *viṇai* in this sūtra alone evidently means *kṛti*. *Kṛti* is quite different from *kriyā*. *Kṛti* denotes the volitional effort of mind and *kriyā* denotes the activity that follows volition. All the commentators mistake the word *viṇai* for *kriyā* or *toḷṭṭi*, as may be seen, for example, from the statement of Cēṇavaraiyaṇ '*vaṇaintaṅ eṇṇavaḷḷi, vaṇaitarṇoḷḷum, vaṇainta karuttāḍum*, etc.' and the repetition of the same by the author of Ilakkāṇa-vilakkam (I. V. 226, Comm.). According to their interpretation the meaning of the sūtra becomes, *viṇai* or *toḷṭṭi* etc., precedes *toḷṭṭi*. How can *toḷṭṭi* precede *toḷṭṭi*? It may be noted here

doer, *ceyappaṭuṭoruḷ* or object, *nilam* or place, *kālam* or time, *karuvai* or instrument, *iṇṇataṭṭē* or the recipient of the result of the action and *itu payay* or the purpose of the action. Tol-kāppiyagār does not seem to intend this sūtra as a definition of the verb.

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam seems to have seen this defect in Nagnūlār's definition of *viṇai* and also seems to have noted that the sūtra '*viṇai y-eyā-p-ṭaṭuva*' (Tol. Col. 198) is also defective owing to his mistaken notion that it deals with the definition of *viṇai*. So he makes the addition '*ṭeruṭṭuḷai peyarcci pulappaṭuṭ ṭaṭuvē*' to Tol. Col. 198. Hence according to him *viṇai* is that which denotes action and time and which does not take case-suffixes after it.

3.222. **CLASSIFICATION** : Verbs are primarily divided into two classes, viz., *kurippu-viṇai* and *viṇai*<sup>1</sup> (latterly known as *terinilai-viṇai*).

3.2221. **KURIPPUVINAI** or appellative verbs are in the opinion of Tol-kāppiyagār, those that are formed from the words denoting qualities as *āṇṇṭē* (I possess strength) (Pattu. 346. 29), from compounds made up of a word denoting quality and a word denoting any limb as *neṭuāceviṇay*, (he has sharp ears) from words made up of a noun and a particle denoting comparison as *ponṇaṇṇaṇṇam* (we are like gold in colour). (P. N. 84.2.), and the verbs *inṇā*, *ila*, *uṭaiya*, *aṇṇā*, *uṭaittū*, *alla* and *uḷa*,<sup>2</sup>

that the same word *viṇai* is used in other places to denote verb and the word *toḷil* also is used in the same sense.

Cf. *Peyarun toḷilum pīrintornū k-icaiṭṭa*. . . (Tol. E. 133.)

1. *Kurippiyum viṇaiyigu nerī-p-ṭaṭa-t- tōṅṇi-k*  
*Kālemoṭu varūm viṇai-c-col l-ellām*  
*Uyartṭiṇai-k k-urimaiyu m-a; ṭiṇai-k k-urimaiyum*  
*A-y-iṇṇa ṭiṇaikkum-ō r-aṇṇa v-urimaiyum*  
*A-m-mā v-urupiya tōṅṇa l-āṇē.* (Tol. Col. 201.)
2. *Iṇṇā v-uṭaiya v-eṇṇūḷ kīḷaviyum*  
*Aṇṇaṭait- taḷa v-eṇṇūḷ kīḷaviyum*  
*Ponṇu-koḷ kīḷaviyu m-uḷa-v-eṇ kīḷaviyum*  
*Ponṇi n-ākiya ciṇai-mutaṭ kīḷaviyum*

the forms like *kuṇṇukaṭṭū*, etc., and *illai* and *vērū*<sup>1</sup> which are common to all genders and numbers.

The author of *Viṇaṭṭiyan* seems to mention in V.K. 11 that *viṇaṭṭuṭṭū* corresponds to the *bhāvēprayōga* in Sanskrit. Since the *bhāvēprayōga* in Sanskrit is used only in the third person singular to denote the action alone as *sthiyati* for *sthiṭi* and the *viṇaṭṭuṭṭū* is used in both the numbers of all the persons and denotes not only the action but also the person and the number, his view does not seem to be correct.

Nannūlar adds to the list of appellative verbs given by Tolkāppiyāṇār the words formed from those denoting the time and place as *ṇṇattāṇ*, *kāpakauṭṭāṇai* (P.N. 5.3.) and the word *uṇṇū*, and says that *uṇṇū* is common to all genders and numbers<sup>2</sup>. He also defines *kuṇṇuṭṭuṇṇai* as that which can take only a subject before it and is not governed by any word in the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth or the seventh, case<sup>3</sup>.

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviṭṭakam* and other grammarians except the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* have followed the author of Nannūlar.

It seems to me that the form *uṇṇū*<sup>4</sup> (from the root *uṇ*) which may have been used only as the neuter singular like *iṇṇū* and *aṇṇū* at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār was generalised throughout so that it began to be used with all persons, genders and numbers from about the time of Nannūlar.

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*Oppaṭu varāṇū kiḷaviyaṭu tokai*  
*Appaṭ patṭuṇ kuṇṇuṭṭu koḷḷum.* (ibid. 220.)

1. *Munṇilai viyēkkāḷ viṇai-y-eṇcu kiḷavi*  
*Iṇmai ceppaḷ vēreṅ kiḷavi*  
*Ceymmāṇa ceyyūṇ ceyta v-eṇṇum*  
*A-m-muṇai niṇṇa v-ā-y-eṅ kiḷaviyūm*  
*Tiripu-vēru poṭāṇū ceytiya v-aki*  
*Iruṭṭinai-c coṇkumō r-aṇṇa v-urimaiya.* (ibid. 222.)
2. *Vēṇḷilai y-uṇṇaim pāl-mā v-iṭattapa.* (Na. 339.)  
*Evay-eṅ viṇaṭṭiṇai-k kuṇṇuṭṭu iḷi y-iṇ-pāl.* (ibid. 350.)
3. *Poruḷ-muta l-aṇṇum tōṇṇi-muṇ v-āṇṇuḷ*  
*Viṇai-muṭal mōṭṭirai viṭakkaḷ viṇai-k-kuṇṇuṭṭ.* (ibid. 321.)
4. cf. *iṭai-p-paṭir kuṇṇu m-iṭaṇu māṇ-uṇṇē.* (Tol. E. 37.)

The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* seems to think that the *kuṟiṭṭuvinaṭai* which are formed from nouns correspond to the *nāmadhātus* (denominatives) found in Sanskrit. For instance, the Tamil appellative verbs, *pāṇṇaṇaiyāṇ*, *aṟupṇāṇ* are similar in nature to the *nāmadhātus* *putrīyati*, *kṣṇāyati*, etc. But it seems to me that they (*kuṟiṭṭuvinaṭai*) are not so, though both are derived from nouns; for, *putrīyati* means either he wishes to have a son or he wants to act like a son; similarly, *tapasyati* means he wishes to perform penance; *mālāti* means it acts like a garland and so on; but *mahagēṇ* in Tamil (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 722, 7), means 'I am the son'. Hence there is a great difference in *sense*, between *nāmadhātus* in Sanskrit and appellative verbs in Tamil. Besides there is a difference in the *form* too. Generally, one of the particles *kyac*, *kyan* etc. is added between the noun and the verbal terminations in Sanskrit denominatives, and such verbs are used in all tenses and moods. But in Tamil appellatives, the verbal termination is invariably added directly to the nouns and they have no tense-element in their forms.

Hence I may say that the appellative verbs form a special feature of the Tamil Language. Originally, they may have been participial nouns and later on used as logical predicates. Afterwards, they may have been included under verbs.

3.2222. VIṆAI OR TERINILAI VIṆAI : 3.22221. CLASSIFICATION INTO SIMPLE AND CAUSAL VERBS : *Terinilai-viṇai* may be divided under two heads—*lay-viṇai* or simple verb and *piṇa-viṇai* or causal verb. It should be clearly understood here that *lay-viṇai* and *piṇa-viṇai* do not at all correspond to *ātmanēpada* and *paraśmaipada* respectively as stated by Dr. Caldwell.<sup>1</sup> For, *lay-viṇai* denotes an action done by the person or thing denoted by its subject, while *piṇa-viṇai* denotes an action done by one other than the agent denoted by the subject. But in Sanskrit if a root can take both *ātmanēpada* and *paraśmai-pada* terminations, the former are used when the result of the action goes to the doer and the latter when it goes to some one other than the doer.

1. C. D. G. 449.

*Taṇ-viṇai* is transitive (*ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ-kunṇāviṇai*) or intransitive (*ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ-kunṇiya-viṇai*) according as it takes an object after it or not. In the sentence '*vaṇumai nōkkinṇū*' (noted the poverty) (P.N. 141.15.) *nōkkinṇū* is transitive since *vaṇumai* (the accusative sign 'ai' is elided here) is its object, and in the sentence '*cellāmōṭiḷ ciṭṭalāi viṇali*' (oh *viṇali* with a few bracelets, shall we go?) (P.N. 64.2.), *cellāmō* is intransitive. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that the *taṇ-viṇai*,.....are all necessarily as well as formally, intransitives<sup>1</sup> is not accurate.

The terms *taṇ-viṇai* and *piṇa-viṇai* are suggested by Tol-kāppiyāṇār by the words *taṇpālāṇum* and *piṇapālāṇum* respectively in the sūtra

*Itu-ceyal vēṇṭu m-eṇṇuṇ kiḷavi*  
*Ira-vayi ṇilai-y-am poruṭṭ-ā kumṇē*  
*Taṇ-pā l-āṇum piṇaṇ-pā l-āṇum.* (Tol. Col. 243.)

Peruntēvaṇār, the commentator on *Viṇacōliyam* respectively calls them *kēvala-tāṭu* and *kārita-tāṭu*<sup>2</sup>, while the author of *Naṇṇūl* uses the term *ēval-viṇai* for *piṇa-viṇai*<sup>3</sup>, perhaps not liking the Sanskritic denomination *kārita-tāṭu*.

The statement of Dr. Caldwell that 'these verbs (causals) have been classed with transitives both by the native grammarians and by Europeans, and Beschi alone places them in a class by themselves and calls them *ēval-viṇai*'<sup>4</sup> is therefore incorrect.

3.222211. *HOW ARE CAUSAL VERBS FORMED?*  
 Tol-kāppiyāṇār has not stated how causal verbs are formed. But in the literature of the Sangam period, the following forms of causals are found :—

1. C. D. G. 450.

2. *Aṭṭiṇāṇ kēvala-t-tāṭu; aṭṭiṇāṇ kārita-t-tāṭu.* (V. Tāt. 6, Comm.)

3. *Cey-y-eṇ viṇai-vaḷi vi-p-pi taṇi-varin*  
*Ceyvi-y-eṇ ē-ēva l-iṇai-y-i ē-irēval.* (Na. 138.)

4. C. D. G. 455.

Examples :	Quotations :
1. <i>uyarkkuvai</i>	<i>naṭṭavar-kuṭi-y-uyarkkuvai</i> (Pattu. 217. 131) (You will raise the fallen families).
2. <i>peyarkkuvai</i>	<i>ceṇṇavar aracu peyarkkuvai</i> (Pattu. 217. 132) (You will displace the sovereignty of the enemies).
3. <i>pōkki</i>	<i>kaivēl kaṭirroṭu pōkki</i> (K. 774) (Having sent the hand-trident with elephants).
4. <i>tolaicci</i>	<i>kaṭikāvinilai tolaicci</i> (Pattu. 218.153) (Having spoiled the guarded state of forests).
5. <i>kaḷip̄pi</i>	<i>maṇṇai yāmam paḷai ura-b-kaḷip̄pi</i> (Pattu. 236.653) (Having spent the remaining part of the day).
6. <i>tirutti</i>	<i>kōl tirutti</i> (P.N. 17.5) (Having reformed the sceptre [rule]).
7. <i>cērtti</i>	<i>paṇṇuvali-e-cērtti</i> (Cilap. 337.108) (Having attuned it to a song called <i>paṇṇū</i> ).
8. <i>uruṭṭi</i>	<i>ālī-tiṇṇappaḷa-v-uruṭṭi</i> (M. M. 61.76) (Having rolled the wheel so that it may become firm).
9. <i>ōṭṭi</i>	<i>aḷittōṭṭi</i> (Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII. V. G. 95) (Having driven after routing them).
10. <i>vāḷṭti</i>	<i>ataṇṇ tāḷ vāḷṭti</i> (Pattu. 220.222) (Having praised its feet).

From these it is seen that causals are formed from *taṇ-viṇai* (1) by the doubling of the consonant of the formative as in examples 1 to 5 noted above, (2) by the doubling of the initial consonant of the signs of tense as in examples 6 and 7, (3) by the doubling of the final consonant of the root as in examples 8 and 9 or (4) by adding the particle ' *ttu* ' to the root as in example 10.

In addition to such forms, the following forms are found in a few instances in Kuraḷ and in large numbers in the literature

written after the 5th century A.D. and in inscriptions of the same period.

<i>ulaṭṭikkum</i>	<i>ulaṭṭikkun cūlū</i> (K. 938).
<i>naṭṭaṭṭilār</i>	<i>naṭṭaṭṭilār nalkāmai</i> (K. 1190).
<i>āṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>āṭṭuvittālār oruvar āṭṭālārē</i> (T. 1229. stanza. 3).
<i>aṭṭakuvittāl</i>	<i>aṭṭakuvittālār oruvar aṭṭakātārē</i> Do.
<i>ōṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>ōṭṭuvittālār oruvar ōṭṭālārē</i> Do.
<i>urukuvittāl</i>	<i>urukuvittālār oruvar urukātārē</i> Do.
<i>pāṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>pāṭṭuvittālār oruvar pāṭṭālārē</i> Do.
<i>paṇivittāl</i>	<i>paṇivittālār oruvar paṇiyālārē</i> (T. 1229.3).
<i>kāṭṭuvittāl</i>	<i>kāṭṭuvittālār oruvar kāṭṭālārē</i> Do.
<i>ceyvittāṇ</i>	<i>tāmra śāsanaṅ-jeyvittāṇ</i> (I.A. Vol. 22, p. 71 M.M.P.).
<i>maṇṇuvikka</i>	<i>vēṭṭi maṇṇuvikka</i> (Ep. I. Vol. XVII. Part VII, V.G. 36).
<i>aṇṭṭippāṇai</i>	<i>kattāṇṭṭippāṇai</i> (T. 17.4).

Here two points may be noted :—(1) in words like *paṇivittāl*, *ceyvittāṇ*, *aṇṭṭippāṇai*, *vi* or *pi* is added direct to the root and (2) in words like *āṭṭuvittāl*, *āṭṭuvittāl*, etc., *vi* is added to the causal forms *ōṭṭū*, *āṭṭū*, etc., of the roots *ōṭṭū*, *āṭṭū*, etc. Hence *āṭṭuvittāl* *āṭṭuvittāl*, etc., may be considered as double causals. Perhaps, seeing such examples, the author of Viracōliyam said in V. Tāt. 6 that the forms like *āṭṭū*, *āṇṇū*, are *kāritam* or causals and if *vi* or *pi* is added once after them, they become *kāritak-kāritam* or double causals and if *vi* or *pi* is added twice after them as *āṭṭuvippāṇ*, they become *kāritakkāritakkāritam* or triple causals. But he has failed to note that *vi* or *pi* may be added direct to roots to make them causals even though examples like *ulaṭṭikkum* and *ceyvittāṇ* were found before him.

Possibly to remove this defect Nannūlar says that *ēval* or causals are made by adding *vi* or *pi* to the root and *irēval* or double causals, by adding either of them twice or both once<sup>1</sup>, and does not mention triple causals.

1. *Cey-y-en viṭai-vaṭi vi-p-pi taṇi-varin*  
*Ceyvi-y-en n-ēva l-iṇai-y-i n-ir-ēval.* (Na. 138.)



The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, though he agrees with *Nagṇūlār* that *ēval* or causals are formed by adding *vi* or *pi* to the root<sup>1</sup>, feels that the mention of *brēval* is absolutely unnecessary<sup>2</sup>.

The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* prefers the Sanskritic term *kāṛitam* to denote *ēval* like the author of *Viracōḷiyam* and mentions, in P.V. 35, that causals are formed by adding *vi* or *pi*, and, in the commentary on the same sūtra, says that they are also formed by the doubling of the consonant of the formative. In the same place he imports the Sanskritic grammatical term *ṇijanta* and composes a small sūtra '*ṇippi ṇicaniaṅ kāṛitam ākum*'. He calls the forms *āṭṭi*, *ūṭṭu*, etc. '*sahaja-ṇijanta*'. When the ordinary form like *eṭutta* is used for the casual form *eṭuppiṭta*, as in '*aracay eṭutta-v-ālayam*', he says it is a case of '*antarbhāvitāṇic*'.

From this it is evident that the ordinary forms of verbs are also used in causal sense. The word '*taṭu*' mentioned by *Ḥampūraṇar* under *Tol*, E. 76 which means 'die or make another die' is a fitting example of this.

The introduction of the terms *ṇijanta* and *antarbhāvitāṇic* by the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* in Tamil grammar does not seem to be appropriate, since the term *ṇic* denotes the causal pratyaya *i* in Sanskrit, while the causal elements in Tamil are of varied nature.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that, in the indeclinable participial forms like *koḷi*, *niṭi*, where the roots are *koḷ* and *niḷ*, the element *i* is considered by the present day Tamil Pandits to be the elongated *i* and to convey the causal sense. In order to determine whether it is exactly so, I give below a brief analysis of all the indeclinable participial forms found in *Puraṇāgūrū* and *Pattuppāṭṭū*.

1. *Muṇṇa r-ōtiya mutaiḷai y-iṇṭiyā*  
*Vi-p-pi y-eupavar roppatū tani-varin*  
*ēval viṇai-mutar rerinilai viṇaiyā*  
*Mēvaru pakuti yām-eṇa molāpa.* (I. V. 44.)
2. *Irukāl-ēvatal kāṇiyatu kārāl-ām-ākaliy...* (I. V. 44, Comm.)

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Root.	Indeclinable participial form in which it appears.	No. of times in Pura-nānūṟū.	No. of times in Pattu-p-ṭāṭṭū.
(a)	<i>ari</i> <i>arii</i> (causal)	...	1
	<i>aṟi</i> <i>aṟii</i> (simple)	1	...
	<i>kaḷi</i> <i>kaḷii</i> do.	...	1
	<i>kuḷi</i> <i>kuḷii</i> do.	2	7
	<i>taḷi</i> <i>taḷii</i> do.	9	10
	(causal)	...	2
	(passive sense)	...	1
	<i>paṭi</i> <i>paṭii</i> (causal)	1	...
	<i>muṭi</i> <i>muṭii</i> (simple (noun))	3	2
	<i>muri</i> <i>murii</i> do.	1	...
(b)	<i>iru</i> <i>irii</i> (simple)	...	1
	(causal)	2	5
	<i>uṭi</i> <i>uṭii</i> (simple)	...	3
	(causal)	...	2
	<i>uru</i> <i>urii</i> (simple)	...	2
	(causal)	...	1
	<i>uṟu</i> <i>uṟii</i> do.	1	...
	<i>oru</i> <i>orii</i> (simple)	4	1
	<i>keḷu</i> <i>keḷii</i> do.	1	4
	(causal)	...	1
	<i>ceruku</i> <i>cerii</i> (simple)	1	1
	<i>taru</i> <i>tarii</i> do.	...	5
	<i>maru(vu)</i> <i>marii</i> do.	...	1
	<i>veru(vu)</i> <i>verii</i> do.	...	5
	<i>peru(vu)</i> <i>porii</i> do.	...	1
(c)	<i>acai</i> <i>acaii</i> do.	2	10
	<i>aḷai</i> <i>aḷaii</i> do.	...	4
	(passive sense)	...	1
	<i>urai</i> <i>uraii</i> (simple)	...	1
	<i>kaṭai</i> <i>kaṭaii</i> do.	...	2
	<i>kavai</i> <i>kavaii</i> do.	...	2
	(causal)	...	1
	<i>kuvai</i> <i>kuvaii</i> do.	...	3

Root.	Indeclinable participial form in which it appears.	No. of times in Pura-nānūru.	No. of times in Pattu-p-pāṭṭu.
<i>kai</i>	<i>kaii</i> (simple)	...	1
<i>lai</i>	<i>laii</i> do.	...	1
<i>lu</i>	<i>luai</i> (causal)	...	1
<i>lai</i>	<i>laii</i> (simple)	1	1
<i>nacai</i>	<i>nacaii</i> do.	1	3
<i>nirai</i>	<i>niraii</i> (causal)	..	1
<i>nilai</i>	<i>nilaii</i> (simple)	...	1
<i>niyai</i>	<i>niyaii</i> do.	...	1
<i>muṭṭai</i>	<i>muṭṭaii</i> do.	2	2
<i>vaḷai</i>	<i>vaḷaii</i> (simple)	1	2
	(causal)	1	6
	(passive sense)	1	...
<i>virai</i>	<i>viraii</i> (simple)	2	4
	(causal)	...	1
(d) <i>koḷ</i>	<i>koḷi</i> do.	8	7
<i>niḷ</i>	<i>niḷi</i> do.	2	3

This list shows that *aḷapeḷai* is found in the indeclinable participles of roots ending in the vowels *i*, *u* and *ai* and in the consonants *l* and *ḷ*. It seems to me that it may occur even in roots ending in consonants other than *l* and *ḷ* since the form *uḷi* (meaning *uḷai*) is found in *Ainākurunūru*. But of the roots ending in vowels only those that end in *i*, *u* or *ai* take it.

Besides, it is seen from the list that their usage as *tan-vigai* or simple verbs to their usage as *piṇa-vigai* or causal verbs is roughly in the ratio of 2 : 1. Since the active form itself is capable of giving passive sense in Tamil, we need not discuss the cases where the passive sense is conveyed in some of the examples noted above.

In the examples under (c) and (d), we should carefully consider whether the final *i* is the element showing the elongation of the previous *ai* or *i*, or is a separate element by itself. My opinion is that it is the latter; and it is the element that is added to roots to form indeclinable participles as it is in the forms *uḷaḷi*, *ḷaḷi*, etc. Thus, in the forms of the roots ending

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as *ai* as *acaii*, *ai* is the final element of the root, and *i*, the sign of the indeclinable participle. If that be so, one may ask, whether it is not necessary to have the intervocalic *y* between *ai* and *i*. The sūtra:

*Ellā molikkū m-uyir-varu valiṭṭ*

*Uṭam-paṭu mey-y-i ṇ-uruvu-koḷal varaiyṛ.*

(Tol. E. 141.)

clearly says that the insertion of the intervocalic element is only *optional*. Then what is the element in such cases that makes them causal? It is the context that makes the ordinary forms of verbs convey a causal sense.

The forms *koḷi*, *niṭi* of the roots ending in consonants mentioned under head (d) may have been formed thus:—*koḷ* (root)+*i* (auxiliary verb, meaning to give)+*i* (sign of the indeclinable participle) and *niḷ*+*i*+*i*. Here the root *i* is added as an auxiliary to give causal sense. Thus *koṇṭu* means 'having taken' and *koḷi* means 'having given to take' i.e. having allowed another to take. The cases where the root *i* is used as an auxiliary are largely found in works of Sangam period, especially in *Kalittokai*. (e.g. *vantiṇku collukutṭivōyē* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 420.19.); *pāṇṇ vantiyāṇ koḷ*. (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 429.10.) In these two examples, *collukutṭivōyē* and *vantiyāṇ* only mean *colluvōyē* and *vantiāṇ* respectively. Though *i* generally gives causal sense, yet here it does not denote it like the *ṇic* in the root forms *cōrayati*, etc. of the 10th conjugation in Sanskrit. That such usage is common is seen from the statement in P. V. 35 Comm. that the word *tēṇṇāṭavar* in the sentence '*naṭṭāṭarēṇṇāṭavar*' means only *tēṇṇāṭavar* and hence *tēṇṇāṭavar* is a *kārita* denoting '*svārtha*.'

In this context it may be seen that other roots also like *taru* *varu* are largely used as auxiliaries without any special sense. (e.g.).....*tirūṭaru*.....(Pattu. 1.1) *citaiṭaru* (Pari. 76.48.); *tuyal-varūṇu* (Pattu. 7.86). Besides both *i* and *taru* are used as auxiliaries in the same word. (e.g.) *iṇṇu vantiṭantāy* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 583.4).

Then as regards *i* in the forms *arii*, *irii*, etc. derived from the roots ending in *i* and *u* mentioned under (a) and (b), I may say that the auxiliary *i* was added to them, when their final vowel disappeared.<sup>1</sup> In the later periods the forms *kaḷi*, *uḷi*, etc., have given place to *kaḷittu*, *uḷuttu*, etc. (e.g.) *kaḷittar karumai-yāl* (N. 56.): *tukilum uḷuttu* (N. 264), and *uḷi*, etc. to *uḷuvi*, etc. so that the root is now considered as *uḷumu*, etc.

Again the forms with *vi* or *pi* are not found, as far as I see, in the Sangam works earlier than Kuṛaḷ. What could have been the reason for the introduction of *vi* or *pi*? *Pi* and *vi* in such examples as *kaḷippi* (Pattu. 236,653.) and *kaḷuvi* (Pattu. 353,324) where *p* and *v* are intervocalics may have been mistaken to be similar to *pi* and *vi* in the Sanskrit forms *dāpitaḥ*, *māpitaḥ*, *sphāpitaḥ* even though *p* or *v* is considered in Sanskrit not as a causal suffix, but the element added before the causal suffix *i*, and then such forms as *kuṛavittu* (T. 2,81), etc. may have been used.

In colloquial Tamil, words like *pāṣa-c-ccettē* and *kaṭṭa-p-paṇṇittē* are used instead of *pāṭuvittē* and *kaṭṭuvittē*.

The formation of double and triple causals is a peculiar development in Tamil. It is not seen in Sanskrit.

3.22222. MOODS, VOICES AND TENSES: *Terinilai-vipai* has four moods, indicative, *ṭṭal* or imperative, *viyaṅkōḷ* or optative and *occam* or infinitive, and two voices—active affirmative and active negative—in the ancient period, and four voices—active affirmative, active negative, passive affirmative and passive negative—in the medieval and modern periods. There are three tenses in the indicative and infinitive moods, while there is only one in the imperative and the optative moods.

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1. This point suggested itself to me in the following circumstances:—The addition of syllables to increase the quantity is allowed by Tolkāppiyaṅṅār in verse and also in the use of vocatives. He has nowhere said that it is used to give the sense of indeclinable participle. The insertion of intervocalic *y*, *v* etc. is, according to him, optional. The roots *taru*, *varu* and *i* are found in large numbers as auxiliaries in the literature of the Sangam

3.222221. *INDICATIVE MOOD* : 3.2222211  
*ACTIVE AFFIRMATIVE VOICE*: The verbs in the indicative mood of the active affirmative voice denote three points;—*action*, *time* and *person*. The element denoting action is evidently the root like *pō*, *nī*, etc.; the element denoting person is the verbal termination, *aṇ*, *āṇ*, etc., which will shortly be dealt with in detail; the element denoting time is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār; but the fact that he recognises such an element is seen from his statement that the past tense is sometimes used for the future and so on.<sup>1</sup> The later grammarians like the authors of *Viracōliyam*, *Nāṇṇūl*, etc. make mention of them. What they are will be indicated after a detailed examination of personal terminations.

3.22222111. *PERSONAL TERMINATIONS (ANCIENT PERIOD)*.

	Singular:	Plural:
1st person	<i>eṇ</i> , <i>ēṇ</i> , <i>al</i> , <i>kū</i> , <i>tū</i> , <i>tū</i> , <i>rū</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>aṇ</i> , <i>āṇ</i> , <i>am</i> , <i>ēm</i> , <i>kum</i> , <i>tum</i> , <i>tum</i> , <i>rum</i> <sup>3</sup> .

period, and *i* is found as the sign of the indeclinable participles in *uraikkī*, *pāṇi* etc.

1. *Vērak kēlattu nikaḷuē kēlattuṇ*  
*Ōrēṇku varāṇu viṇai-c-cor kīḷavi*  
*Iranta kēlattu-k kurippaṇu kīḷattal*  
*Virainta poruḷa v-eṇmaṇar pulavar.* (Tol Col. 241.)
2. *Ka-ṭa-ta-ra v-eṇṇum*  
*A-n-nāṇ k-ārnta kuṇṇiya lūkaramoṭu*  
*Eṇ-p-ē n-al-l-eṇa varāṇu m-ēḷun*  
*Taṇ-viṇai y-uraikkun taṇmai-c collē.* (ibid. 203.)
3. *Avaitāṇ*  
*Aṇ-m-ā m-em-m-ē m-eṇṇuē kīḷaviyūṇ*  
*Um-m-oṭu varāṇuē ka-ṭa-ta-ra v-eṇṇum*  
*A-n-nāṇ kīḷaviyo ṭ-ā-y-eṇ kīḷaviyūṇ*  
*Paymai y-uraikkun taṇmai-c collē.* (ibid. 202.)

	Singular :	Plural :
2nd person	<i>i, ai, āy, ōy</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>ir, īr</i> . <sup>2</sup>
3rd person		
(a) masculine	<i>ay, ōy, ōy</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>ar, ār, ōr, pa</i> and <i>mār</i> .
(b) feminine	<i>aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ</i>	epicene plural. <sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup>
(c) neuter	<i>tu, tu, tu</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>a, ā, va</i> . neuter plural. <sup>7</sup>
(MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIODS.)		
1st person	<i>ey, ēy, al, aḷ</i>	<i>am, ām, em, ēm, cūkaḷ,</i>
	<i>kū, tū, tū, tū</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>ōm, kum, tum, lum, rum</i> . <sup>9</sup>

1. *Avayṭuḷ*  
*Muṇṇilai-k kiḷavi*  
*I-ai āy-ēya varāu mūṇṇum*  
*Oppa-t tōṇru m-oruvarkku m-ovarkkum.* (ibid. 223.)  
*Āy-en kiḷaviyu m-avayṭoḷu kaḷḷum.* (ibid. 212.)
2. *Ir-ir miṇ-ṇ-ēya varāu mūṇṇum*  
*Pallōr maruṇṇikūṇ palavayṭu mārūṇṇikūṇ*  
*Collōr-āṇaiya v-ēṇṇaṇṇar pulavar.* (ibid. 224.)
3. *Ay-āy al-ā l-ēyṇṇ nāṇkum*  
*Oruvār maruṇṇikṇ paṇarṇṇai-c collē.* (ibid. 205.)
4. *Ar-ār pa-ēya varāu mūṇṇum*  
*Pallōr maruṇṇikṇ paṇarṇṇai-c collē.* (ibid. 206.)  
*Mārai-k kiḷavi-y-um pallōr paṇarṇṇai*  
*Kāḷa-k kiḷaviyoḷu muṭiyu m-ēṇṇa.* (ibid. 207.)
5. *Paḷ-ari maraṇi ṇ-am-mū v-irṇṇum*  
*A-v-ā v-āḷuṇ ceyyū l-ūḷḷē.* (ibid. 211.)
6. *Oṇṇaṇ paṇarṇṇai ta-ra-ṇa v-ārnta*  
*Kuṇṇiya lūkaṇa-t t-iruti y-āḷum.* (ibid. 217.)
7. *A-ā va-ēya varāu m-iruti*  
*Appāṇ mūṇṇē palavayṭu-p paṇarṇṇai.* (ibid. 216.)
8. *Tāy-āy-un-tir-tirū cāṇṇiya-tirkaḷ-o t-irkaḷ-um-āṇ*  
*āyāta muṇṇilai y-iṇ-ṇ-irappōn-taṇmai taṇ-ṇ-irappir*  
*Rēyāta-tēṇ-ēṇ-un tēm-ēm-un-tōm-ām-unu m-āḷum-ēṇṇa*  
*Vēyar-paṇiyat l-akattiyāṇar-conṇa mey-t-taṇṇikkē.*  
(V. K. 6.)  
*Kiṇṇay-niṇṇay-kirir niṇṇir-kirirkaḷ-niṇṇirkaḷ-um-āy*  
*Irā-niṇṇaṇa-muṇṇ ṇilai-y-iṇ-ṇikaḷcci y-itāṇ-kaṇṇaṇmai*  
*Kiṇṇē-ēṇ-niṇṇēṇ-kirē (m) niṇṇōṇ-kirōm-u*  
*niṇṇōm-um-ēṇṇān*

	Singular :	Plural :
2nd person	<i>i, ai, āy, ōy</i>	<i>ir, ir, irkaḷ,</i>
3rd person		
(a) masculine	<i>aṅ, āṅ, ōṅ</i>	{ <i>ar, ār, ōr,</i> epicene
(b) feminine	<i>aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ</i>	{ <i>ārkaḷ, pa, māṛ.</i> plural.
(c) neuter	<i>iṇ, rṇ</i>	{ <i>a &amp; ā.</i> neuter plural.
		{ ( <i>ā</i> in the negative mood.)

*Eṅ* and *Ēṅ*: Of these two terminations, *eṅ* is more frequently used in the ancient period than *ēṅ*, and whenever it is used, it is preceded by a *cāriyai aṅ*. (e.g.) *kaṇṭaṇeṅ* (I found) (P. N. 23.17.): *vantaṇeṅ* (I came) (P. N. 158.20.): in the later

*Terū-ninra-kaṭ-pava ṣaṇ-tikaḷ-vāy-naṅ riruntaiyē.*

(ibid. 7.)

*Vāy-pāy-ir-pir-pir-irkaḷ pīrkaḷ-ivai-moṇṇu muṇṇilaiyir*

*Cāypāyivūṇ-ēṭir kalam-ilaiyūḷi-t taṇmai-collin*

*Vēy-pāṇiya-toḷi vēy-pēy-vēṇ pēmoṣu vōm-pōm-um-āṇ*

*Cey-pāṇiya-ceṣum pōti-p-pirāṇ-ṇaṅ rirunturaikkē.* (ibid. 8.)

*Ku-tu-tu-rū eṇṇuṇ kūrriya lukaramōṭṭu*

*Al-aṅ eṇ-ēṇ āku m-irra*

*Iru-tiṇai mu-k-kūṇ r-orumai-t taṇmai.* (Na. 331.)

*Am-ām eṇṇa muṇṇilai y-ārai-yum*

*Em-ēm ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-ārai-yum*

*Um-ār ka-ṣa-ta-ṛa iru-pā l-ārai-yum*

*Taṇṇoṣu paṭukkun taṇmai-p paymai.* (ibid. 332.)

*Ai-āy ikara v-irra māṇṇum*

*Evaliṇ varāṇ m-eḷḷā v-irraṇum*

*Mappā l-orumai muṇṇilai mōṭiyē.* (ibid. 335.)

*Ir-ir irra iraiṇṭu m-iru-tiṇai-p*

*Paymai muṇṇilai miṇ-avaṇ r-ēvaḷ.* (ibid. 337.)

*Ku-tu-tu-rū v-eṇṇuṇ kūrriya lukaramo*

*Tal-l-aṅ e-ēṇ-e e-āku m-irra*

*Iru-tiṇai mu-k-kūṇ r-orumai-t taṇmai-yum*

*Am-m-ā m-irra muṇṇilai y-ārai-yum*

*Em-m-ē m-ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-ārai-yum*

*Um-m-ār ka-ṣa-ta-ṛa v-iru-pā l-ārai-yum*

*Tannoṣu paṭukkun taṇmai-p paymai-yum.* (I. V. 237.)

*Ai-y-ā y-ikara v-irra māṇṇu*



period *ēy* is more frequently used. (e.g.) *ukantēy nāy* (I praised) (P. T. 169.4): *niggañāntēy nāy* (I went to you) (P. T. 169.5). These two are used in all tenses. *ēy* is used even without the *cāriyai*. (e.g.) *kāppey* (I will protect) (Kampar. A. 232.28).

*Mēvaliṅ varū m-alla v-irō*  
*T-al-lā l-ēl-kā n-eyy m-irayum*  
*Muppa l-orumai mupilai viyaiyum*  
*Ir-i r-irra v-irayū m-irutiṅai-p*  
*Paymai mupilai-y-a miyū m-irra*  
*Aṅṅavar r-ēvala m-ām-eyu molīpa.* (ibid. 238.)  
*Tāy-āy-un-lāḷ-āḷ-un tār-āru-tārkaḷ-o t-ārkaḷ-eyu*  
*Mēnām-uraiṭa pīrattiyam-āhun tātu-v-ata-v-un*  
*Tēy-ār-kaḷai taya-v-un-aya-v-un tikaḷ-paṭarkkai*  
*Aṅ-v-irappir roḷir-palam-āriku m-āyṇa-ziyē.* (V. K. 3.)  
*Nirāy kiṇḍu-oṭu nirāḷ-kiṇḍ-ivai nirār-kiṇ*  
*Nirarḷaḷ-ōṭu-kiṇ rārkaḷu-niratuṭi kiṇḍu-v-un*  
*Teyrāta-cir-nāy rāya-kiṇṇa-v-un tikaḷ-paṭarkkai-p*  
*Pirāṇikaḷai toḷir-palam-ārikum pērtariyē.* (ibid. 4.)  
*Vay-pāy-un-vāḷ-paḷ-un vār-pār-un-vār kaḷ-un*  
*pārkaḷ-nū-cir*  
*Tāy-pāy-ya-v-ata v-un-patu-v-un-tattai y-allai-v-eyra*  
*Tēy-pāy-ē-collī vāya-v-un-pāya-v-un tikaḷ-paṭarkkai*  
*Vāy-pāy-muliyu m-ēlirvēr-roḷir-pata m-ārikumē.* (ibid. 5.)  
*Aṅ-ā n-iru-moli ānpār paṭarkkai.* (Na. 325.)  
*Aḷ-ā l-iru-moli penpār paṭarkkai.* (ibid. 326.)  
*Ar-ār pa-v-v-ā r-akara mā r-irra*  
*Pallōr paṭarkkai mār viṇai-y-oṭu maṇimē.* (ibid. 327.)  
*Tu-zu-ṭu-k kurriya lūkara v-irra*  
*Oṇṇa paṭarkkai ṭu-k kurippī n-ākum.* (ibid. 328.)  
*Aṅ v-irra paṭavē paṭarkkai*  
*A-v-ē etimmaṇai kanna t-ākum.* (ibid. 329.)  
*Aṅ-n-ā n-iru-moli y-ānpār paṭarkkaiyum*  
*Aḷ-l-ā l-iru-moli penpār paṭarkkaiyum*  
*Ar-ār pa-v-v-ā r-akara māṇirra*  
*Pallōr paṭarkkaiyum pakaru-maṇ n-avarraṇ*  
*Mārai-k kiḷavi viṇaiyoṭu muṇiyiyum*  
*Mālaiḷ kiḷaviyoṭu nērupā pēṇrē.* (I. V. 232.)  
*Tu-ru-ṭu-k kurriya lūkara v-irra*  
*Oṇṇa paṭarkkaiyum a-ā v-irra*

*AL*: The commentator on *Viracōliyam* says that *al* is used to denote the determination of the speaker.<sup>1</sup> *Cēṇāvaraiyar* says in his commentary on the *sūtra*

*Ka-ṭa-ta-ṭa v-eṇṇum*

*A-n-nān k-ārnta-kurriya i-ukavamōṭṭi*

*Eṇ-ṇ-ē ṇ-al-l-eṇa varūn m-ēḷum*

*Taṇ-viṇai y-uraikkum taṇmai-c-collē.* (Tol. Col. 203.)

that *al* is preceded by *p* or *v* and is used only in verbs denoting the future tense. *Naccinārkkinīyar* adds in his commentary on the same *sūtra* that it is sometimes used in the verbs denoting present tense also as in the word *ṇṇṇṇ-ūirpal* (I eat). The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with *Cēṇāvaraiyar*.<sup>2</sup> In the literature of the Sangam period, though *al* is generally used in verbs denoting future tense, yet there are instances where it is found in verbs denoting past tense also. (e.g.) *kaṇṭaṇṇ varuval* (I came to see) (P. N. 23.17) and *vaṭaiyōṭṭi varuval* (I came eagerly) (P. N. 165.14). But in all the instances, the *determination of the speaker* is implied. Hence the opinion of the commentator of *Viracōliyam* seems to me to be more satisfactory. This may perhaps be the reason why *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has not mentioned the element that denotes tense signs and the particular terminations that are used after them.

*AN*: This is not mentioned by *Tolkāppiyāṇār* as a termination of the first person singular. But there are instances in *Puṇanānūru* '*uraittanaṇ yāṇ*' (I said) (P. N. 136.22) *yāṇum... vaṇṭaṇṇ* (even I came) (P. N. 154.7) where *aṇ* is so used. Similar examples are found in later literature also. (e.g.) *ceykuvaṇ tavam eṇa* (that I will do penance) (M. M. 50.182). These examples may have induced the author of *Viracōliyam* to state

*Palaiṇ paṭarkkaiyum pakaruman n-avaṇ-uṭ*

*Tu-v-v-iru kiḷavi kurippir k-ēṇṇalum*

*Ā-v-i-ṭ-etirmaṇai-k k-āḷulu m-uṇṇiya.* (ibid. 234.)

1. *Tuṇṇu-p-poruḷṇ-kaṇ taṇmai-y-orumaiyil vaṇ, paṇ eṇṇum iraṇṭa piṇattiyum-ān.* (V. K. 10, Comm.)

2. *Uṇṇal, varuval eṇa varum al-l-iṇṇu-t : taṇmai-y-orumai-muṇṇu-c-collum... etir-kālam-paṇṇi varum.* (I. V. 237, Comm.)

that *an* along with *ṣ* or *v* as *paṇ* or *vaṇ* is the first person singular termination.<sup>1</sup>

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* says that *an* is used in verbs denoting future tense.<sup>2</sup> But the example *uraittanān* cited above denotes only past tense. Hence the opinion of the author of *Viracōliyam* seems to me to be more satisfactory.

*WHAT MAY BE THE ORIGIN OF THIS AN?* This may be identical with *an* of the third person singular masculine. Since there is sometimes a tendency to use third person 'to denote the speaker himself possibly out of modesty, this may have been originally used to denote first person in *sense* though, in *form*, it may have been taken as third person singular masculine, and afterwards the form itself may have been mistaken for that of the first person. Or the third personal termination *an* itself may have been used originally both for the third and the first person at the beginning of the formation of the language and these instances may be the survivals of such pre-historic usage; for, if we observe the growth of language in children, it is seen that it takes a long time for them to grasp the idea of 'I' and so they generally refer to themselves only in the third person. Or *ai* mentioned above may have been metamorphosed into *an* as the case-suffixes *ān* and *iṅ* to *āi* and *i* respectively. cf. 3.213233 and 3.213234 *supra*.

*Kā, Tā, Tū, Rā :* Of these four *ṭā, tū* and *rā* belong not only to the first person singular, but also to the third person neuter. Wherever these are used, they are not preceded by the tense signs unlike the terminations *en, ēn*, etc. Hence it seems to me that these forms may have come into existence by cutting off *ēn, ān, ār*, etc. from *unṭēn, tantēn, cenṭēn, unṭān, tantān, cenṭān, unṭār, tantār, cenṭār*, etc. as in Malayāḷam, since the meaning of *ēn, ān*, and *ār* are expressed by their subjects *yān* or *nān, avān* and *avar* respectively and may have been at some time

1. *Taṇmai-t-tuṇivā m-orumai-vāṇ-pāṇa...* (V. K. 10.)

2. *Kāṇvaṇ eṇa varuṇ aṇ-ṅ-irruṭ taṇmai-y-orumai-muṇṇu-c-collum etirkālam-paṇṇivarum.* (I. V. 237, *Comm.*)

used in all the persons and numbers, but later on restricted to the first person singular and the third person neuter singular. Similarly the form *uṅkū* may have been evolved out of *uṅkēṅ* and may have been restricted to the first person singular.

Ḥampūraṇar thinks that the forms *uṅkū*, *uṅtū*, *vaṇtū* and *cēṇū* (Tol. Col. 203, Ḥam.) are used only in the future tense. Nannūlār says in Na. 145 that *rū* and *tū* denote the past and the future, *tū*, the past and *kū*, the future tense. Cēṇavaraiyar agrees with Ḥampūraṇar. Naccinārkkinīyar states with caution that all the four mostly denote the future tense. The author of Ḥakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Ḥampūraṇar. (I. V. 50.)

*Am*, *Ām*, *Em*, *Ēm*, *Ētkaḷ*, *Ōm*: Of these, the first four are generally used in all periods, while the fifth, which is evidently a double plural termination, in the medieval period and the last in the medieval and modern periods. *Ōm* may have sprung from *ām* by changing *ā* to *ō* through analogy with the formations *vaṇtōṅ*, *vaṇtōḷ*, *vaṇtōr* and *vaṇtōy*.

The following may serve as examples for most of the terminations mentioned above:—*uṅkuvam* (we will eat) (P. N. 136, 26.); *ēttukam* (we will praise) (P. N. 161, 32.); *kūṇuvām* (we will narrate) (Kampar, B. 26, 1.); *uṇai-y-ēm* (we have) (P. N. 112, 2); *uṇṇēṅkaḷ* (we ate) (C. C. 1795.); *taṇtōm* (we gave) *vēṇṇōm* (we do not pray for) (P. T. 195, 5).

These terminations are like *ey*, *ēy*, etc. preceded by the tense signs.

Ḥampūraṇar, Cēṇavaraiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar mention that *ām* and *ōm* are used when the subject denotes the speaker and the person spoken to, or the speaker, the person spoken to and a third person, and *em* and *ēm* when it denotes the speaker and a third party.<sup>1</sup> Nannūlār says the same, but adds *ōm* also to the latter list.<sup>2</sup> The author of Ḥakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with

1. *Am ām eṇṇaṇa muṇṇiṅṇārai uḷappaṭukkuṁ; tamar-āya-vaḷi paṭarkkai-y-ārai-y-um uḷappaṭukkuṁ. Em ēm eṇṇaṇa paṭarkkaiyārai uḷappaṭukkuṁ.* (Tol. Col. 202, Cēṇā.)

2. *Am-ām eṇṇaṇa muṇṇilai y-ārai-yum*

*Em-ēm ōm-iyai paṭarkkai y-ārai-yum.* (Na. 332.)

Nanṇūlār.<sup>1</sup> The author of Viracōliyam mentions only *ēm* and *ōm*. The following may serve as examples for the same :—

*Payil pāntaṇṭalai-p-paṭarkuvam* (Cilap. 258,67.); here *paṭarkuvam* means 'let her, you and me go'.

*Ēval ceṭṭuṇaiṇarēm yāṅka!* (Kampar. K. 175.14.) ; here *ēval-ceṭṭuṇaiṇarēm* means 'let me and others serve you'.

*Varikkū-k-kūṇu ceṇṇārkaṭukkuṁ conṇōm* (S. I. I. iii, i, 44-5); here *conṇōm* does not include the person spoken to.

In colloquial speech of the modern days, only the terminations *ōm* and *ēṅga* or *ēṅgō*, the modified forms of *ēṅka!* are used. *Ēṅga* or *ēṅgō* are used only by uneducated people. M. J. Vinson mentions only the latter form. (J. A. Dixie Serie Tome 17, p. 189.)

*Kum, Tum, Tūm, Rūm*: Whatever is said of *kū*, *tū*, *tū*, and *rū* applies to these four. Evidently, these are formed from *kū*, *tū*, *tū* and *rū* by the addition of the pluralising particle *m*; (e.g.) *kārapaṇ kūrūtum* (we shall state the reasons) (T. 3.3).

*I, ai, āy, ōy*: Of these terminations, *i* and *ai* are more frequently used in the ancient period, while *āy* in the later periods; the form *ōy* is generally used in literature. In colloquial speech only the termination *āy* is now frequently used. (e.g.) *varaiti* (you classify) (P. N. 8,8): *varuti* (you come) (P.N. 8,8.): *paṭiyinai* (you made them rest) (P.N. 15,10.): *eri āṭṭinai* (you set fire) (P.N. 16,17.): *allāy* (you will not desire) (P. N. 31.6.): *ālāy* (you will blow) (P.T. 160,6 to 10.): *kaṭuttōy* (you gave) (P.N. 2,16). [The author of Viracōliyam mentions only *āy*.]

*Ir, īr, īrka!*: *Ir* and *īr* are generally used in the literature of all periods. In the medieval and modern periods, the double plural terminations began to be used. (e. g.) *celkuvār* (you will go) (Cilap. 295,91.): *paṭarār* (you traverse) (Cilap. 295,87.): *vanṭirka!* (you have come) (colloq.): *ir* is practically extinct.

1. ....

Am-m-ā mīṇṇa muṇṇilai y-āraiṇum

Em-m-ē m-ōm-ivai paṭarkkai y-āraiṇum.... (I. V. 237.)

[The author of *Viracōliyam* mentions only *ir* and *irkaḷ*.] In the colloquial speech at the present day, *ir* is used in the honorific singular alone and *irkaḷ*, *īṅga* and *īṅgō* are used in honorific singular and plural. The forms *īṅga* and *īṅgō* are used only by uneducated people. They are evidently the modified forms of *irkaḷ*. The substitution of *ṅ* for *r* may be due to the principle of economy of effort, since it is easier to pronounce *ṅ* before *g* than *r*; or it may be through analogy with *ṅ* in *vantiṅga* or *vantiṅgō*. The latter form is mentioned by M. J. Vinson. (J. A. Dixieme Series, Tome 17, p. 189.)

*Aṇ, āṇ, ōṇ*: *Aṇ* is generally preceded by the *cāriyai aṇ* as *aṭṭaṇ* (he killed) (P.N. 78,12). But it is used by itself after the roots (*uḷ, il*, etc.) (e.g.) *uḷaṇ* (he is) (P.N. 86,3). *Ōṇ* is used only in literature. (e.g.) *uṇṭaiyōṇē* (he belongs to *uṇṭai*) (P.N. 68,18.) [The author of *Viracōliyam* mentions only *āṇ*. (V.K. 3,4, etc.)] but the later grammarians follow *Tolkāppiyāṇār*. In colloquial Tamil only *āṇ* is used.

*Āḷ, āḷ, āḷ*: Whatever has been said about *aṇ, āṇ* and *ōṇ* holds good for *āḷ, āḷ*, and *āḷ*. (e.g.) *āḷṭaṇāḷ* (she bewailed) (P. N. 143,15). [The author of *Viracōliyam* mentions only *āḷ*] but the later grammarians follow *Tolkāppiyāṇār*.

*Ar, ār, ōr, pa, mār, ārkaḷ*: The first five are used in all periods, while the last is found only in the medieval and modern periods. *Ōr* is used only in literature. *Ārkaḷ* is evidently a double plural termination. As regards *mār*, I quite agree with M. J. Vinson that it is also a case of double plural termination. (J. A. Dixieme Serie Tome, 17, p. 189.) Verbal forms with *ārkaḷ* are very frequently used in *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyirappirapantam*. (e.g.) *paḷvārkaḷ* (they will praise) (T. 32,9). Hence it seems to be that the author of *Viracōliyam* has mentioned *ārkaḷ* side by side with *ār*. But it is difficult to understand why he has not mentioned the terminations *ar, ōr, pa* and *mār*. The other grammarians have followed *Tolkāppiyāṇār*. In the colloquial speech of the present day, the termination *ār* is used in honorific singular and *ārkaḷ* both in honorific singular and plural. Uneducated

people use *āṅga* and *āṅgō*, the modified forms of *ārkaḷ*. They may have had the same origin as *īṅga* or *īṅgō*.

*Tū*, *rū*: Nannūlar states that *tū* and *rū* denote the past and the future tense.<sup>1</sup> Cēṇāvaraiyar's opinion is that *tū* is used after the sign of all the three tenses, and *rū* after that of the past.<sup>2</sup> Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar agrees with the latter.<sup>3</sup> [*Tū* is not included here since Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccīṇārkkīṇiyar think that it is used only in the appellative verbs.]

*Ā*, *ā*, *va*: Whenever *a* is used, it is generally preceded by the *cāriyai ay*. (e. g.) *paṛaintaṇa* (they have been scraped) (P.N. 4.3); *maruṇṇu-p-pōṇṇaṇa* (they are like horns) (P.N. 4.4); but there are examples where it is used without it. (e. g.) *tōṇṇa* (they will appear) (P. N. 4.5). *Ā* is used in the negative sense. Tolkāppiyāṇār himself has used it so. (e.g.) *ayirney allaṇa moḷimṇa l-ākā* (Tol. E. 60); but he has not expressly stated in any of his sūtras that it has negative sense. Nannūlar, seems to be the first grammarian to mention it,<sup>4</sup> and the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* follows him.<sup>5</sup>

[The author of *Viṛacōḷiyam* mentions *aṇa* which evidently shows that he takes the termination and the *cāriyai ay* together as termination. He does not mention *ā* or *va*.]

A NOTE ON *KAL* in *ENKAL*, *IRKAL*, *ĀRKAL*: According to Tolkāppiyāṇār, *kaḷ* is optionally used as the pluralising

1. Ra-v-v-o ṭu-kara v-ummai-nikaḷ p-allavum  
Ta-v-v-o ṭ-irappu m-etirvum. . . (Na. 145.)
2. Takara-v-ukaram mūṇṇu-kālattirkuṁ urittū;  
Rakara-v-ukaram iranta-kālattirku urittū.  
(Tol. Col. 217, Cēṇā.)
3. *Ibid.* (Tol. Col. 217, Nac.)
4. *Ā v-ā* etir-maṇai-k kaṇṇa tōḷum. (Na. 329.)
5. *Tuṇu-tu-k kuṇṇiya lakaṛa v-irra*  
*Onṇaṇ paṭarṇkkaṭṭum a-ā v-irra*  
*Ā-v-i ṭ-etir-maṇai-k k-ākaḷu m-urriya.* (T. V. 234.)

particle of *ayartīnai* nouns. Its use may have subsequently been extended to *uyartīnai* nouns also. (c.g.) *maṇīlarkaḷ* (men). In such cases it is added mostly to plural forms, thus making them double plurals. Verbal forms like *pōṇār* may be used as nouns also in Tamil in the sense of persons who went, and declined as *pōṇārai*, *pōṇārotū*, etc. To the latter type of forms like *pōṇār*, *kaḷ* may have been added and thus forms like *pōṇārkaḷ* may have come into being, in the sense of persons who went. (c.g.) *col-mālai colluvārkaḷ...neṭuṇkālām vāḷvārē* (those who compose songs will live for a long time) (P. T. 135. 10); here *colluvārkaḷ* means those who will say. Such forms were, perhaps, through confusion, treated as verbs. From such instances, *kaḷ* should have become generalised as a pluralising particle in verbs also. Thus *pōṇārkaḷ*, *pōṇīrkaḷ*, etc. are cases of double plurals. Double plurals of this kind are found frequently used in Tēvāram and Nālāyirappirapantam, the literature written between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D. But in the later literature they are not so frequent.

Here it would be very useful to bear in mind that ancient Canarese *gaḷ* and modern Canarese *gaḷu* which correspond to Tamil *kaḷ* are not used in Canarese verbs and that likewise Telugu *lu* (= Tamil *kaḷ*) is not used in Telugu verbs.<sup>1</sup> It would not be difficult to infer from this that the use of *kaḷ* as a pluralizing particle of verbs should have been developed as a special feature of Tamil during the course of its separate development, and that, prior to its separation from Telugu and Canarese, during what might be called the primitive Dravidian period, *kaḷ* did not find any place in the formation of verbs. It would also be interesting to observe that Canarese *gaḷ* or *gaḷu* and Telugu *lu* which correspond to Tamil *kaḷ* are occasionally used as the plural suffix in Canarese and Telugu, of rational nouns and pronouns<sup>2</sup> corresponding to *uyartīnai* nouns and pronouns in Tamil, and that, in Cilappatikāram for the first time, the form *yāṅkaḷ* occurs with *kaḷ* in *uyartīnai*, though no verbal form with *kaḷ* is found there.

1. C. D. G. pp. 555 to 563.

2. *Ibid.* 224.



Such *verbal forms* with *kal* are found for the first time in the works of the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries A. D. like Tēvāram, and Nālāyirappirapantam. This induces me to suggest that Canarese, Telugu and Tamil may have been separated from one another between the age of Cilappatikāram (5th cent. A.D. circa.) and the age of Tēvāram and Nālāyirappirapantam (6th to 8th cent. A.D.).

*IMITATION OF PĀṆINI BY THE AUTHORS OF VĪRACŌLIYAM AND PIRAYŌKAVIVĒKAM:* The author of Vīracōliyam does not mention the verbal terminations separately but mentions them along with tense elements as *tāy*, *lāl*, *niṇṇāy*, *kiṇṇāy*, *kiṇṇāy*, etc. He has done so, perhaps because he thought that they should correspond to *li*, *si*, *mi*, etc. the terminations in Sanskrit, which generally denote both tense and person.

The author of Pirayōkavivēkam has gone too far in importing unnecessarily the terms *ātmanēpada* and *parasmaipada* and explaining them with reference to the Tamil terminations. He states that *parappaiṭalam* (*parasmaipada*) is used at the end of finite verbs in *kartari* or active voice, the *lai* or *āṇṇēṭalam* (*ātmanēpada*) is used in *kartari* or active voice, *karmāṇi* or passive voice or *bhāvē* or impersonal form. According to him *parappaiṭalam* is the termination which ends in a short vowel or has a penultimate short vowel. (e.g.) *kū*, *aṇ*, *aḷ*, *ar*, etc.; *āṇṇēṭalam* is that which ends in a long vowel or has a penultimate long vowel. (e.g.) *mār*, *ai*, *āy*, etc. Both the above terminations are *āṇṇēṭalam* when they are used in the passive voice. The roots which take both the above terminations are called *uṇṇāyapati* (*ubhayaṇṇāyapati*). Thus the root *camai* (to cook) which has forms *camaiṇṇāy*, (he cooks) *camaiṇṇāy*, (he will cook) *camaiṇṇāy*, (he does not cook) *camaiṇṇāy*, (he cooks) *camaiṇṇāy*, (he will cook) *camaiṇṇāy* (he will not cook) is *uṇṇāyapati*; the root *uṇṇāy* with reference to the forms *uṇṇāy* *uṇṇāy*, *uṇṇāy* *uṇṇāy* is *ēkapati* in *āṇṇēṭalam* and the same root with reference to the forms *uṇṇāy*, *uṇṇāy*, etc. is *ēkapati* in *parappaiṭalam*.

It is clear that this classification of terminations is quite against the nature of Tamil language and is done solely in imita-

tion of Sanskrit Grammar. Even here it may be noted that in Sanskrit, if a root takes *ātmanēpada* terminations, it takes them in all persons in its conjugation in one tense or mood. (e.g.) *karōmi*, *karōsi* and *karōti* in the singular of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons present, respectively; but in Tamil, *uṇṇi*, the first person singular past tense, is *parappaipalam*, *uṇṇāy*, the 2nd person singular in the same tense is *ārpanēpalam* and *uṇṇi*, the 3rd person neuter singular in the same tense is *parappaipalam*. Besides, he says that the verbal form '*camaikkiṇṇayan*' is used when one cooks for another and *camaikkiṇṇāy* is used when one cooks for himself. Nowhere else is it said so; nor do I see any example in literature in support of this distinction.

Besides, he mentions that the form '*cāttanāl varappaṭum*' as an example for *bhāvēprayōga*. This is exactly the translation of the Sanskrit sentence '*cāttēna āgamyatē*'. Such a sentence, though made up of Tamil words does not seem to me to be a Tamil sentence.<sup>1</sup> His importation of *bhāvēprayōga* too is most inappropriate.

Another most curious point mentioned by him is that 'a' following 'ṇ' in the form *uṇṇappaṭum*, 'ē' following 'ṇ' in *uṇṇāniṇṇāy*, 'u' following 'l' in *colluka*, 'i' following 'r' in *veṇṇika*, *ta* in *pukutaka*, *ai* in *irintaikka*, *ku* in *araiṇṇavan* are conjugational signs.<sup>2</sup> Is this not in direct imitation of Sanskrit?

By the way he mentions that he has imported the Sanskritic terms *tiñ* and *tañ* in Tamil to make up for the want of Tamil words ending in 'ñ'.<sup>3</sup> By such importation he does more harm than good. The terms *tiñ* and *tañ* may be quite intelligible in Sanskrit grammar, but, in Tamil, they are not so, since the Tamil grammarians have not resorted to the device of using *pratyāhāra* as in Sanskrit.

1. P. V. 36 & its comm.

2. P. V. 41, comm.

3. P. V. 36, comm.

3.22222112. *TENSE AND TENSE-SIGNS*.—Tolkāppiyānār says that there are three tenses past, present and future.<sup>1</sup> He does not mention any suffix denoting tense. This fact is noticed by the commentators Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkinīyar and they make mention of the same under the last sūtra of Collatikāram in Tolkāppiyam. But at the same time Tolkāppiyānār mentions that the past tense is used to denote either the present or the future when such actions take place immediately,<sup>2</sup> and that the past and the present tenses are used to denote the future for the sake of clearness.<sup>3</sup> If distinct tense formations were definitely current in Tolkāppiyānār's time, it would be difficult to account for his omission to deal with the distinctive signs for such formations. He mentions, however, three tenses and adds that one may be used for another under certain circumstances as stated above. It is impossible to see how he could speak of one tense form being used for another if it were true that in his days tense formations were not at all differentiated on the morphological side. I am inclined to suggest a solution for this difficulty. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that perhaps, Tolkāppiyānār was only thinking of different *tense-values* when he mentioned three tenses; that some of his contemporaries may have begun to associate particular *verbal forms* with particular tense values through the frequency of particular use; and that, with reference to such forms, Tolkāppiyānār was probably indicating the circumstances under which overlapping in tense values might be recognised.

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1. *Kālan tāṁē māṇṇēṇa moḻiṇa.* (Tol. Col. 199.)  
*Irappi nikaḻṇi v-etiṇṇi v-eṇṇā*  
*A-m-mu-k kalamuṇ kurippotuṇ kolḻum*  
*Mey-n-nilai v-utaiya tōṇṇa l-aṇē* (ibid. 200.)
  2. *Vārā-k kālattu nikaḻṇ kālattum*  
*Or-āṇṇu varāum viṇai-c-cor kīḻai*  
*Iranta kālattu-k kurippotu kīḻattal*  
*Viṇainta poruḻ v-eṇṇayyar pulavar.* (ibid. 241.)
  3. *Vārā-k kālattu viṇai-c-cor kīḻai*  
*Irappiṇu nikaḻṇiṇu cīrappa-t tōṇṇum*  
*Iyaṇṇai-y-un tēṇṇuṇ kīḻakkuṇ kīḻai.* (ibid. 245.)

The author of *Viracōḷiyam* states that *ta*, *ya* and *ya* are added to roots to form the past participle, *kīra*, *āniyira* and *cu* to form the present participle and *kum*, *um*, *m*, to form the future participle.<sup>1</sup> Its commentator gives the following as examples under the same stanza for the past participles:—*pīranta*, *pōna* and *āya*.

The author of *Nappūl* seems to have analysed the above into *t* and *a*, *kīru* and *a*, etc. where *t*, *kīru*, etc. were taken as tense signs and *a*, the participial sign. According to him, *t*, *l*, *r* and *iy* denote the past tense, *kīru*, *kīru* and *āniyru* denote the present tense and *pa* and *va* denote the future, *ru* and *rum*, and *tū* and *tum* denote the past and the future, *tū* and *tum* denote the past, *kū* and *kum* denote the future, *i* and *mār* denote the future, *pa* the past and the future, *um* the present and the future<sup>2</sup>. Here it must be noted that the verbal terminations *kū*, *tū*, *tū*, *ru*, *kum*, *tum*, *tum*, *rum* are taken to denote not only the person and the number, but also the tense.

Since *t* becomes *ṭ* and *r* respectively after *ṭ* and *y*, and *l* and *y*, *ṭ* and *r* may be regarded as the modification of *t* itself; and hence it seems to me that it would have been sufficient if *Nappūlār* had mentioned only *t* and *iy* as past tense signs.

1. *Tāta-v-iy-piṇṇu ta-ya-ya-v-irappi gikaṭci-y-ir-kaṇ*  
*Otu-kīra-cū-v-o ṭ-āniyru-v-ān-kum-m-um m-ōṭu-* ma : kaṇ  
*Pētamaṭiyu m-etirū-kaṇ-ābum pīravum-vantā*  
*Ētaṇ-il-catiran tam-pūlaiyāma l-iyarri-k-kollē.* (V Tāt. 7.)
2. *Ta-ṭa-va-v-or r-iy-r-ē y-aim-pāl mā-v-iṭattū*  
*Iranta kēlan taru-loṭi l-iṭai-nilai.* (Nā. 142.)  
*Aniṭṭū kīṭṭū kī-mā v-iṭattū*  
*Aim-pāl nikal-pōṭu t-arai-vāṇai y-iṭai-nilai.* (ibid. 143.)  
*Pa-v-va mā-v-iṭat t-ai-m-pā l-etir-pōṭutū*  
*Icāi-viṇṇai y-iṭai-nilai y-ān-ivai cūa-v-ūa.* (ibid. 144.)  
*Ra-v-v-o pūhara v-ummai-nikal p-alla-vum*  
*Ta-v-v-o t-irappu m-etirvum ṭa-v-v-ōṭū*  
*Kōṭivum ka-v-v-ō ṭ-etirvum-miṇ y-ēval*  
*Viyaikō ṭ-i-m-mā r-etirvum pāntam*  
*Celavoṭu varavum ceyyu-nikal p-etirvum*  
*Etir-maṇai mummāi-yu m-ēṭu m-tikkē.* (ibid. 145.)

**ORIGIN OF THE TENSE SIGN 'IN':**—The tense sign 'in' comes after the roots ending in *ñ*. It seems to me that the final *ñ* of the roots was changed to *i* before *y*<sup>1</sup> so that the forms *aṭakkiya* (P. N. 6. 25.) were formed. The roots like *ṣō* took only *y* as the past tense sign so that the form *ṣōyāṇ* was current. Later on the forms like *aṭakkiya* gave place to those like *aṭakkiya* so that 'in' began to be considered as the past tense sign. In the indeclinable participle *i* alone is added in such cases to represent the past tense as *aṭakki*, *ṇṇaṅki*, etc. Thus 'i' which was originally the modified form of *ñ* in sandhi may have come to be regarded as a part of the past tense sign.

Besides, there are a few roots in Tamil, as Dr. Caldwell says, which formed their past tense in the ancient period without the addition of any tense sign, but by the reduplication of the final consonant. (e.g.) *ṣukkaṇar* (they entered) (Cilap. 342, 196). But even in the ancient period such forms began generally to be superseded by the more regular forms formed by adding tense to roots. (e.g.) *ṣukkaṇṇu* (Cilap. 574, 14).

As regards the future tense, it seems to me that it may have been in its origin later than the past, for it is possible for the primitive people to remember some of their past deeds and express them to others before they begin to think of the future. This is clearly seen in the case of children. The only future that would have been possible then was that conveyed by the command which is expressed by the imperative second person.

The present tense may, in all probability, have been the last in the formation, since it is not quite necessary on the part of a speaker to express to another what is actually happening since he himself is witnessing it. The present tense forms in Tamil with the signs *kīyru*, *āyīyru*, etc. are almost absent in the works of Sangam period. I was able to find out one form *cērkiṇṇa* in *Paripāṭal* (p. 163, 35). Such forms are very frequent only in the literature of the medieval period. (e.g.) *cūkiṇṇā!* in each of 10 stanzas in *Tēvāram*, pp. 25 and 26; *cūkiṇṇā!* in *Periyatirumoli*

1. *Yakarom varu-vaṭi y-ikaran kuṇukum*

*Ukara-k kilavi tuvara-t tōyṇāṇi*. (Tol. E. 411.)

of Nāḷāyirappirapantam, pp. 154 and 155; *cellāniyṛa āṇṭā* (T. A. S. i, 14); *paṛṛāniyṛōrai* (T. 1. 51).

The forms *uṅkiṛāy*, *uṅkiyṛāy*, *uṇṇāniyṛāy*, *uṇṇākiṭantāy*, *uṇṇāviruntāy* appear to me to have been two words which were, later on, mistaken for one; for the commentator on Viracōḷiyam says that the forms *niyṛāy*, *kiṭantāy*, *iruntāy*, etc., are derived from the roots *nīl*, *kiṭa*, *iru*, etc. and are used as the personal terminations after roots in the present tense.<sup>1</sup> Cēṇāvaraiyar, a commentator on Tolkāppiyam repeats the same thing. Hence *uṇṇā* and *niyṛāy* were, at one time, two words of which *uṇṇā* was a participle (modified form of *uṇṇū*) and *niyṛāy* was the finite verb. This may be seen from the following two examples:—*iravā niyṛāy* (Kampar. A. 239. 38.); *tēṛṛā niyṛāy* (Kampar. A. 249. 52.) where *iravā* and *tēṛṛā* are affirmative indeclinable participles. Later on *nīl* of *niyṛāy* in *uṇṇāniyṛāy* began to be taken as an auxiliary verb. *Uṇṇāniyṛāy* should have originally meant 'he is eating', the past tense *niyṛāy* being used to denote the immediateness of the action. The above explanation holds good for the forms *uṇṇāniyṛāy*, *uṇṇākiṭantāy* and *uṇṇāviruntāy*. But what should have been the origin of *uṅkiṛāy* and *uṅkiyṛāy*? The form *uṅkiṛēy* which is very often used in colloquial speech is said to be the later form by Naccinārkkinīyar<sup>2</sup> and it is not generally found in Tamil classics up to 12th century. Hence it may be considered to have been the modified form of *uṅkiyṛāy*. The form *ākiyṛū* as the finite verb is found in the following lines of Puṇānpūṟū:—

*Pennuruvu oru-tiṇṇ ākiyṛū* (the form of a woman is on one side). (P.N. 1.7.)

*Pirai-pulal vaṇṇam-ā kiyṛū* (crescent forms a source of beauty to the forehead). (P.N. 1.9.)

1. *Nīl eyyun tātuciṇṇṛū iṇṇā-kāla-p-paṭarkkaiyil niyṛāy mutaliya pirattiyayankal nīkal-kāla-p-porūḷi varam.* (V. K. 4, comm.)

2. *Uṅkiṛē-ēṇa-k kiṇṇ eṇṇatū nīkal-kālam uṇṇattutal i-k-kāla-vaḷakkū.* (Tol. Col. 202, Nar.)

This may have been formed from *ā* (root) + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṅ* (cāriyai) + *rū* (the neuter sign termination). Could *ākiṅrōṅ* have been formed by adding *āṅ* to *ākiṅrū* mistaking it to be the indeclinable participle? Or as Dr. Grael, Dr. Gunderi and M. J. Vinson opine, *kiṅrū* may have been formed from *k* a sign of the future in Tamil and *iṅrū* meaning now.<sup>1</sup>

The author of Nagnūl plainly says that *kiṅrū* and *kiṅrū* and *āniṅrū* are the present tense signs, though *k* of *kiṅrū* and *kiṅrū* in forms like *uṅkiṅrōṅ* and *uṅkiṅrōṅ* is the final element of the previous word, like *uṅkū*, and *iṅ* is the initial element of the following word, and *ā* of *āniṅrū* in the form like *uṅāniṅrōṅ* is the final element of the affirmative indeclinable participles like *uṅā*, and *niṅrū* is the initial element of *niṅrōṅ*.

In modern times, the past perfect, the present perfect and the future perfect are used with a past participle and the finite verbal form in the past, present and future of the root *iru*. e. g. *ceyṭu iruntāṅ* (he had done), *ceyṭirukkiṅrōṅ* (he has done), *ceyṭu irupṭāṅ* (he would have done). Similarly, the forms of the past perfect continuous, the present perfect continuous and the future perfect continuous are also found. e.g. *ceyṭukonṭiruntāṅ*, *ceyṭukonṭirukkiṅrōṅ*, *ceyṭukonṭirupṭāṅ*.

The past and the future tenses may respectively correspond to the aorist and the second future in Sanskrit. The causal verbs also are used in all the three tenses in the same way as simple verbs. The latter is formed by adding to the root, the tense sign and the personal termination, while the former by adding to the root, the causal suffix *vi* or *pi*, the tense sign and the personal terminations or by adding the tense sign and the personal terminations to the causal form of the root as *ākkū*, *īrutṭū*, etc.

3.222212. ACTIVE NEGATIVE VOICE: Tolkāppiyaṇār has hinted about the active negative voice in his statement that case-suffixes will be used even after nouns qualifying a

1. C. D. G. 494 and J. A. Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, p. 116.

negative verb,<sup>1</sup> and also has mentioned the term *etirmarai* in the sūtra

*Ecca v-ummai-y-u m-etirmarai y-ummai-y-um*  
*Tattam-uṇ mayāṅku m-uṇṇilai y-ilavē.*

(Tol. Col. 283.)

From the literature of the Sangam and medieval periods we may infer that the negation was expressed in six ways:—

(1) By inserting the negative particle *al* between the root and the personal termination.

(e. g.) *cel-l-al-am* (we will not go). (P.N. 101.1.)  
*aṭi-y-al-aṇ* (he does not know). (P.N. 239.9.)

(2) By inserting the negative particle *il* or *iḷ* between the tense sign and the personal termination.

(e. g.) *ciraṇṭaṇṇi* (it is not desirable). (P.N. 75.5.)  
*urai-t-t-il-aṇ* (he did not say). (P.T. 205.12.)  
*kāṇ-t-il-ēṇ* (I have not seen). (P.T. 202.2.)

(3) By inserting *al* followed by the personal terminations after the affirmative finite forms of verbs.

(e.g.) *muyāṅkiṇṇi-allēṇ* (I was not befooled). (P.N. 19.7.)  
*celvēm allēm* (we will not go). (P.N. 36.11.)  
*ollāṇ allāṇ* (he will not agree). (P.N. 97.21.)  
*peruvār-alar* (they will not receive). (P.T. 200.5.)

(4) By inserting the vowel *ā* between the root and the tense sign. (This is seen clearly in the third person neuter singular.)

(e.g.) *ākāḷi* (it will not become). (Tol. E. 71.)  
*mutalātū* (it will not commence). (Tol. E. 65.)  
*pēṇāḷi* (it will not agree). (T. 2.6.)

(5) By adding the personal terminations directly to the root.

(e.g.) *kāṇṇēṇ* (I will not see). (P.N. 71.5.)  
*ollāy* (you will not agree). (P.N. 31.6.)

1. *Ētir-maruttu molī-y-iṇ-un tattu marāṭir*  
*Poruṇḷai tiriya vēṇṇumai-c collē.* (Tol. col. 107.)



*ollāy* (he will not agree). (P.N. 78.9.)

*vaiyārkaḷē* (They will not despise). (P.T. 204.10.)

(6) By lengthening the *a* of roots like *var*<sup>1</sup> and adding the personal terminations.

(e.g.) *vārēm* (we will not come). (P.N. 145.4.)

The author of *Viracōliyam* states that *āy*, *āl*, *ār*, *ārkaḷ*, *ātū*, *ā*, *ilay*, *ilal*, *ilar*, *ilarkaḷ*, *ilatū*, *ila* and others like *atōḷi* are added after roots to denote *taṭai-p-poruḷ* or negative meaning.<sup>2</sup> Its commentator adds that the verbs having the first six terminations denote the future tense, and the verbs having the next six terminations denote the past tense when they (*ilay*, etc.) are preceded by *i*, as in *naṭantilay*, and the present tense when they are preceded by *ē*, as in *naṭakkilay*. But I am at a loss to know why he did not add the first and the second personal terminations along with the first six and *allāy*, *alal*, *alay*, *alar*, etc. along with the next six.

The authors of *Naṇṇūl* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* have stated about the negative voice only with respect to *ā*, the termination of the neuter plural. It is the Rev. C. J. Beschi who has definitely stated that in *marai-vinai* personal terminations are *directly* added to roots without any tense sign between them and that *ātū* is the termination that is added to the root in the third person neuter singular.

At present we have certain forms of verbs which are common both to affirmative and negative voices, *ceyyāy* and *ceyyār*, the second person singular and plural forms respectively. The indeclinable participles *ceyyā*, *uṇṇā* also come under that category.

1. It seems to me that the root in *varukēyār* and *varuṇār* was originally *var*, though in modern times *vā* is taken to be the root. cf. Tel. *vā* (come.)

2. *Ān-āl-ār-ārkaḷ-ai-ātū-ā-v-ilay-mar-iloḷ-ilar-un*  
*Tān-ām-ilarka-ḷ-ilatū-ila-tātū-t taṭai-p-poruḷ-kaṇ*  
*Mēṇām-uvaitta marapē-varumikka v-ātōḷi-may*  
*Nāṇṇuḷamarṇā narraṭai-maṇṇum pīraṭṭiyamē.*

(V. Tat. 11.)

The author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū* gives the following examples to illustrate the identity of *vīli* or affirmative form and *maṟai* or negative form. (e.g.) *vallār tīrai koṭuppar* (the weak will pay tribute), *vallār tīrai koḷvar* (the strong will take tribute), *aruḷāy* (one who has the favour or one who has not the favour), *vekuḷāy* (one who is irritable or one who is not irritable).<sup>1</sup> C. J. Beschi says *nēvāy* is common to both (It means, he won't suffer or he will suffer). Similarly one of the commentators on *Nannūl* says that *cāvāy* means, either he will die or he won't die.

These examples show that the fact whether they denote negation or assertion is ascertained either from the context or *perhaps* from the difference in the position of the accent. As regards the words like *ceyyāy* and *ceyyīr*, they seem to have had the accent on the first syllable if they denoted assertion and on *ā* or *ī* if they denoted negation. Originally, they may have been respectively imperative second person singular and plural. The same may have been pronounced with such a tone as to convey interrogative sense as is done even now. From such interrogative uses, the negative meanings of such forms may have been developed.

**WHAT IS THE ORIGIN OF 'Ā' OF ĀTU IN MUTALĀTŪ? VĀRĀTŪ, Etc.** *Ā* is said by *Tolkāppiyāṇār* to be one of the terminations added to verbal themes to denote neuter plural, and it is not stated there that it denotes neuter plural only in the negative voice; but he uses such verbs as *ākā* in Tol. E. 60, *navilā* in Tol. E. 74, *mikā* in Tol. E. 263 only with a negative meaning. The author of *Nannūl* has definitely stated that *ā* is used to denote neuter plurals only in the negative voice.<sup>2</sup> Hence I think that *ā* began to be considered in the earliest times as the particle of negation in neuter plural. Afterwards, forms

1. *Vallār tīrai-koḷvar, vallār tīrai-koṭuppar; . . . aruḷāy vekuḷāy ivai col-t-ōṟṟē vīti-viṇaiyum maṟai-viṇai-y-um-āyina.* (I K. p. 39.)

2. *Āā tīra pala-v-iṅ paṟarēkai*

*A-v-ē etir-maṟai-k kaṇṇa tākum.* (Na. 329.)

like *tiriyatū*<sup>1</sup>, *mutalātū*<sup>2</sup> which are found in *Tolkāppiyam* may have been formed by adding the neuter singular termination *tū* to the theme formed by the root with the negative particle *ā* suffixed to it. Then this particle *ā* may have been used in verbal nouns like *ceyyāmai* and then it may have given room to the idea that it (*ā*) existed even in the form *ceyyāy*.<sup>3</sup>

If so, how are we to account for the participial form *ceyyā* in *ceyyānīrūṇ* which denotes affirmation. *Tolkāppiyagār* has not mentioned it. *Cēṇāvaraiyar* says that *ceyyā* was changed to *ceyyā*. Hence *ā* of the verbal participle *ceyyā* in *ceyyānīrūṇ* is not a negative particle. Later on, *ceyyā* may have been used as a negative participle also.

3.2222213. *PASSIVE AFFIRMATIVE VOICE*: *Tolkāppiyagār* has not stated anything about the passive affirmative voice or *ṇīti-e-ceyappāṭṭusinaṭ* as is called by the author of *Iḷakkaṇakkottū*. But in connection with the third case he (*Tolkāppiyagār*) states that the third case-suffix is used to denote the *karṭā* or the doer of the action also. This is possible only if passive voice was current in his time. Besides he uses the expression *eyā-p-paṭuṭa* in *Tol. E. 1*. But passive forms are rare in the literature of the ancient period. (e.g.) *kaippaṭṭukkappaṭṭāy ni* (*Ka. T. Vol. 2. 548. 15*). In the literature and inscriptions of the medieval period, verbs in passive voice are frequently used.

(e.g.) *ceyyappaṭṭadu* (it was done). (*Ep. 1. Vol. XVII, Part VII. V. G. p. 330, line 30 & 31.*)

*irakkappaṭṭadu* (it was taken down). (*Ibid. line 112.*)

*aṇappaṭṭadu* (it was said so). (*Ibid. line 110.*)

*kuḍukkappaṭṭadu* (it was given). (*I.A. Vol. 22, p. 71 M. M.P.*) (for *kuḍukkappaṭṭadū*.)

*iḷṭapperakuvātākavum* (so that it may be despised). (*S. I. I. ii, 509.*)

*kaṭṭappaṭṭū* (having been built). (*T. 20, 6.*)

1. *Yā-v-eṇ vāṇā-v-u m-ā-y-iyā tiriyātū*. (*Vol. E. 176.*)

2. *Ā-v-ō jallatū yakara mutalātū*. (*ibid. 63.*)

3. *Etir-marai-k-kaṇ marai-y-uṇarittum*

*iṭai-nilai-y-u m-uṇmaiyaṇ*. (*Vol. Col. 450, Cēṇā.*)

On the basis of these later passive formations, the author of Viracōḷiyam has stated that in the *karmakāraka* or passive voice, the root *paṭu*, or some other one is added to the original root followed by 'a' and then the personal terminations are added.<sup>1</sup> Its commentator mentions *taṭu* in addition to *paṭu*. From the fifth example mentioned above, the root *peru* also may be added to the list.

The author of Nāṇṇūl has not mentioned anything about it. The author of Pirayōkavivēkaṁ mentions it in the commentary on P. V. 36. The author of Ilakkaṇakkottū agrees with the author of Viracōḷiyam and adds that the active form itself may be used for the passive.<sup>2</sup> Examples for the latter are found in the Sangam works.

*vaḷaii* (for *vaḷaikkappaṭṭu*) (having been surrounded).  
(P.N. 18, 1.)

*taḷu* (for *taḷuvappaṭṭu*) (having been adhered to). (Pattu.  
224. 301.)

It seems to me that, before the time of Viracōḷiyam and even for some time after him, the expressions *aṟiyappaṭṭān*, *aṟiyatta-kuvay* may have been viewed as made up of two words *aṟiya* and *paṭṭān* and *aṟiya* and *taḷuvay*. This is perhaps the reason why Nāṇṇūlār has not mentioned it. Besides, passive voice is also formed, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'by means of the preterite verbal participle of any neuter active verb followed by the preterite third person singular neuter of the verbs to become, to be, to go, or occasionally to end.'<sup>3</sup> (e.g.) *atu muṭintatū*, (it was finished); *atu muṭintāyirū* (it was finished). Sometimes, expressions like *aṭi unṭōn* for *aṭikkappaṭṭān* also are used. I quite agree with Dr.

1. *Viṇai-k-kuṭippōṭū karumam-paṭarkkaiyā mikka-v-onṭai*  
*Ayattēygalūm-a-v voṭu-paṭu-t-tātu-pinn-am-iyarkai*  
*Taṇai-k-karumam-perun tātu-k-kaṇ-marum paṭu-viṇai-*  
*pōl*  
*Nipaiṅka-varu-mar ṭ-iyaiyam-peyarcco nikarttiṭumē.* (V.  
K. 11.)
2. I. K. p. p. 44 and 45.
3. C. D. G. 464.

Caldwell that in colloquial Tamil 'the root *paṭu* is sometimes added even to intransitive roots and sometimes to denote, other than passive signification' (e.g.) *nāṇ naṇṇāy cāṇṇiṭaṇṇaṇṇaṇ* does not mean 'I have been well-eaten, but I am accustomed to eat well !'

But on the whole, the genius of the Tamil language is to avoid the passive voice as far as possible. This is one of the important points where Tamil differs from Sanskrit.

3.2222214. *PASSIVE NEGATIVE VOICE*. The passive negative voice is formed in the same way as the passive affirmative voice, except that the particles of negation are added here to the roots followed by such auxiliary verbs as *paṭu*. Hence the following forms may be had :

*ciṭakkappaṭṭalantū* (it is not considered advisable).  
*kāṇappaṭṭilalā* (it was not found).  
*uraikkappaṭṭiṇṇū* (it was not said).  
*kāṇappaṭṭē* (I will not be found).  
*kāṇappaṭṭā* (he will not be found).  
*kāṇappaṭṭā* (it will not be found).  
*kāṇappaṭṭē-allē* (I will not be found).

Such a use of negative voice is not at all found in Sanskrit and is a peculiar development in Tamil language.

3.222222. *IMPERATIVE MOOD* : 3.2222221. *AFFIRMATIVE VOICE* : Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions that the form *ceyyōy* of the second person singular is sometimes used as *cey*<sup>2</sup> and in such cases *i* or *ē* preceded by a suitable consonant is added after it,<sup>3</sup> as *ceyri* (from the root *cei*) and *niymē* (from the root *ni*). This evidently holds good in the affirmative voice. He has not definitely stated the exact forms that should be used in the imperative mood. But from the literature of the Sangam period we

1. *Ibid.* 468.
2. *Ceyyā y-eynu munṇūlai viṇai-c-cor*  
*Cey-y-ey kilāzi y-ākiṭa n-uṭaiṇē.* (Tol. Col. 450.)
3. *Munṇūlai mugna r i-y-u m-ē-y-un*  
*Aṇṇūlai maraṇṇ mey-y-ārntu varumē.* (ibid. 451).

are able to understand that the forms *ceyyāy*, *cey*, *ceyyi*, *ceyyi* and *ceyyai* were used as second person singular and *ceyyir* and *ceymin* as second person plural in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood.

- (e.g.) *aṟiyāy* (know). (A.N. 268. 1.)  
*kēḷ* (listen). (Pattu. 131. 38.)  
*cei* (go). (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 477. 32.)  
*varaiti* (allot). (P.N. 8. 7.)  
*ceyri* (go). (Ka. T. Vol. 542. 15.)  
*kaṇṇi* (find). (*Ibid.* 542. 8.)  
*kēṭṭai* (listen). (*Ibid.* 546. 23.)  
*kāṇṇ* (see). (Cūlap. 209. 12. & 265. 226.)  
*cērmīn* (reach). (P.N. 9. 5.)

In the literature of the medieval period, the form *ceyminṇaḷ* formed by adding *kaḷ* to the plural form *ceymīn* is frequently used. (e.g.) *toḷumīnṇaḷ* (T. 32. 9.) *cērmīnṇaḷē* (P.T. 58. 1).

The author of *Viracōḷiyam* mentions that the root form like *cey* is used as the second person singular, the forms like *ceyyum*, *ceymīn* and *ceyyāmē* as honorific singular and the forms like *ceyyuṇṇaḷ* and *ceymīnṇaḷ* as the second person plural in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the form *ceyyum* it was used at the time of *Tolkāppiyānār* only as the third person singular and third person neuter plural in the indicative mood<sup>2</sup>. If that is so, we have to explain how the same form began to be used in honorific singular of the second person imperative mood at the time of *Viracōḷiyam*. It seems to me that the latter form is not the same *ceyyum* but is

1. *Ōṇkato-munṇilai-p pāl-ēval-aṇṇā l-orumāy-ir-cu-p*  
*Pāṇṇār-ciṟappilā mēyu-miṇ-ka-p-paṇmai y-ām-iṭattū*  
*Niṇṇkato-miṇṇaḷuṇ kallaṇ-icai-v-iṇ-ir ka-v-v-enṇatān*  
*Tāṇṇā-p-parāṇka-t tiṇiṇ-pōlumām-enṇar tāḷ-kaḷalē.*  
(V. K. 9.)
2. *Pallōr paṭarṇṇai munṇilai taṇmai*  
*A-v-vayin māṇṇu niṇṇaḷuṇ kālattu-c*  
*Ceyyu m-enṇuṇ kiḷavi-y-oṭū koḷḷā.* (Tol. Col. 227.)

the corrupted form of *ceymiṅ* or *ceymē* through the intermediate stage *ceyṇum*. Still the old form *ceyyum* was used in the Tolkāppiyān sense by *Kaṇṇar—maḷai-k-kunṇamanaiyāṅ varum* (Kampar. A. 214. 2.), *kaiyāi-k-kaiyiyerikkum* (Kampar. A. 220. 11). In the colloquial speech of modern days *ceyyum* is used only in the honorific singular. The form *ceyyāmē* may have been originally used in the sense 'let us go' where 'us' refers to the person spoken to and the speaker and then was used as the second person honorific singular. But this form seems to be extinct now.

Naṇṇūlar follows the author of *Viracōḷiyam* as regards the singular<sup>1</sup> but mentions the termination *miṅ* alone as regards the plural.<sup>2</sup>

At the present day the forms that are used in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood, in colloquial speech, are the same as those mentioned by the author of *Viracōḷiyam* except the form *ceyyāmē*.

It seems to me that the form *ceyya vēṇṇum* has also been used in the imperative mood since the time of Tolkāppiyāṇar.<sup>3</sup> This form appears to be a kind of periphrastic formation made up of the gerundial form of a root followed by *vēṇṇum*—the future form of the root *vēṇṇu* primarily signifying request. Perhaps this periphrastic formation was devised to supply the gap in the first and third persons in the imperative system.

3.2222222. *NEGATIVE VOICE* : Tolkāppiyāṇar has not definitely stated any form to represent the negative voice in the

1. *Noṣa-vē maṭi-ci viṇu-kū vē-vai*  
*No-p-pō van-v-urī ũ-uk-porun tiru-tiṅ*  
*Tēy-pār cel-vav vāḷ-kē i-a-i. keṇṇē*  
*Eṭṭiya v-irupāṅ māṅṇē m-irravum*  
*Cey-y-e ṅ-ēval viṅai-p-pakā-p paṭamē. (Na. 137.)*
2. *Ir-ir irra iranṇu m-iru-tinai-p*  
*Pagṇai muṇṇilai miṅ-avar vēval. (Na. 337.)*
3. *Itu-ceyal vēṇṇu m-ennuṅ kilavī*  
*Iru-vayī ṇilaiyum poruṭ-ṭ-ā kun-mē*  
*Taṇṭā l-āṇum pīraṅ-pō l-āṇum. (Tol. Col. 243.)*

imperative mood, though he has used the two words *aḷiyal* and *aḷical* in the second person singular, imperative negative voice in Tol. Poruḷ. 146. But from the literature of the different periods we may say that the following forms *ceyyal*, *ceyyāy*, *ceyyāḷi*, *ceyyēḷ* were used in the singular and *ceyyīr* in the plural. (e.g.)

*peyaral* (do not change). (P. N. 3. 14.)

*ēkal* (do not go). (Kampar. A. 225. 19.)

*nūkkāy* (do not go away). (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 470. 21.)

*nūḷḷāḷi* (do not stand). (*Ibid.* 468. 21.)

*uḷ aḷiyēḷ* (do not feel sorry). (Kampar. A. 225. 18.)

*ayarēḷ* (do not feel sorry). (Kampar. A. 239. 38.)

*ayarīr* (Plural). (Kampar. A. 275. 87.)

Besides it seems the form *ceyyavēṇṭā* was used both in the singular and the plural. (e.g.) *nī varuntavēṇṭā* (P. N. 101. 10).

In modern times the forms that are used in colloquial speech are *ceyyāy* or *ceyyātē* in the singular, *ceyyātēyum* in the honorific singular and *ceyyāḷir* or *ceyyātēyukkal* in the plural.

It appears that, at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār and the author of Viracōḷiyam, the imperative mood expressed not only command but also request, wish, etc. more or less in the same way as the imperative in Sanskrit. This is clearly seen from the statements of Tolkāppiyāṇār<sup>1</sup> and the author of Viracōḷiyam<sup>2</sup> that the optative mood is used only in the third person singular and plural. But at the time of Nannūḷār, it seems to me that the imperative began to be restricted only to denote command and the optative began to be used to denote wish, request, etc. since he says that the optative forms like *celka*, *celiya* and *celiyar* could be used in both singular and plural of all persons.

1. *Avarruḷ*

*Muṇṇilai toymai y-a-y-i-r iḷattoṭṭu*

*Muṇṇā t-ākam viyāṇkōṭṭi kūḷavi.* (Tol. Col. 226.)

2. *Oṅkāta-muṇṇilai-p-pāl-ēval-ākkā l-orumai-y-iṭ-cu-p*

*Paṇkār-cirappilā mē-y-u miṭ-ka-p-paṇmai-y-ām-iḷattū*

*Nūkkata-miṇṭai-uḷ kaḷ-i-ām-icai-v-iṇṭirka-v-v-eṇṇatān*

*Tāṅka-p-parōkka-t t-iṇ-iṭ-pōlum-ām-eṇṇar-tāḷ-kūḷalē.*

(V. K. 9.)



There is one difference between the imperative mood in Tamil and that in Sanskrit; in the former, it is used only in the second person, except in the case of instances like *ceyyavēṇṭum* which appear to represent a type of periphrastic imperative formation as explained above, whereas in the latter, it is used in all persons.

3.222223. OPTATIVE MOOD ; 3.2222231. AFFIRMATIVE VOICE : Active voice in the optative mood in Tamil verbs expresses request, injunction, wish, etc. in the same way as the Sanskrit potential, and benediction as the Sanskrit benedictive. Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions that *viyañkōḷ* or optative mood is used only in the third person, both singular and plural where it has the same form in *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl*, *palarpāl*, *onraṇpāl* and *palaviṇpāl*.<sup>1</sup> But what its form is he does not seem to have mentioned. He uses the verbs *aṇṭal* and *kāṇṭal* as optative mood in Tol. Col. 458 and 463 respectively.

The author of Viracōḷiyam agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār in the meaning and the use of the optative mood and improves upon him by saying that its form is obtained by adding 'ka' to the roots.<sup>2</sup> Nannūḷār differs from them both in its application and the form. It is used in all persons and numbers and the forms mentioned are *ceyka*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar*.<sup>3</sup> The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Nannūḷār in its application, but as regards its formation he adds the forms ending in *al*, *āl*, *um*, *mār* and *ai*.<sup>4</sup>

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1. *Eñciya kiḷavi y-iṭattoṣṭi civaṇi*  
*Ai-m-pāṇku m-uriya tōṇṇa l-aṇṇē.* (Tol. Col. 225.)  
*Avaṇṇu!*  
*Muṇṇilōṭ taṇmai y-ā-y-i-r iṭattoṣṭi*  
*Maṇṇā l-āṇku viyañkōḷ kiḷavi.* (ibid. 226.)
  2. V. K. 9. See F. N. p. 180, 2.
  3. *Ka-ya-v-oḷu ra-v-v-aṇ ṇ-iṇṇa viyañkōḷ*  
*Iyaḷu m-iṭam-pā l-eñku m-eṇpa.* (Na. 338.)
  4. *Ka-ya-v-oḷu ra-v-v-aṇ ṇ-al-āl um-mār*  
*Ai-kō nīṇṇa viyañkōḷ murravai*  
*Eytu m-iṭam-pā l-eñku m-eṇpa.* (I. V. 239.)

The opinion of the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* seems to me to be the most acceptable when we take into consideration the forms used in the literature from the Sangam period onwards. He has himself given quotations in his commentary on the *sūtra* 239. The following may be added to them.

*vāḷiya nī* (May you live long). (Ka. T. Vol., 2, 583, 21.)

*vāḷiyar yāṇ* (May I live long). (P. N. 365, 9.)

*vāḷiyar paḷa* (May many prosper). (P. N. 371, 25.)

*nī vāḷiyar* (May you live long). (P. N. 137, 14.)

*ceyṭēy ākuḥa* (May I be considered to have done it).  
(P. N. 71, 9.)

*ceṭvai y-ākuṭvai* (May you be considered to have gone).  
(P. N. 70, 15.)

(The last two may be regarded as periphrastic formations.) In addition to these it seems the form *ceyyāy* also was used in the second person singular of the affirmative voice of the optative mood. (e.g.) *kāṇḍy kōvē* (Oh king ! may you protect). (Kampar. A. 241, 41.)

In colloquial speech such forms as *vāḷattum*, *vāḷakkaṭavāy*, *vāḷakkaṭavāi* etc., are generally used in the third person.

3.2222232. **NEGATIVE VOICE** : In the negative voice such forms as '*peyaral*' formed by adding the negative particle *al* to the root are found. e.g., *nīy coṭ peyaral* (P. N. 3, 14.) which means 'may your command never change'. They may have arisen under the following conditions:—Forms like *peyarāy-allāy* may have been in use in the second person singular similar to *ceṭvēm allēm* (P. N. 36, 11) in the first person plural, *ollān allān* (P. N. 97, 21) in the third person singular. Then *peyarāy-allāy* may have been reduced to *peyar-āl* in the same way as *ceyyāy* to *cey*. Or forms like *peyar-alāy* may have been in use similar to *ceḷ-lalam* (P. N. 101, 1), *ariyalam* (P. N. 239, 9.) and they may have been reduced to *peyar-al*.

In colloquial Tamil at present the form *vāḷāyāka* (I wish you not to prosper) is generally used in the negative voice. This may be considered to be a periphrastic formation made up of a

negative verb in the negative voice of the indicative mood and the optative affirmative form *āka* of the root 'ā'.

3.222224. *ECCAM OR INFINITIVE MOOD* : *Eccam* is primarily divided into two classes *peyar-eccam* and *vinai-y-eccam*.

3.2222241. *PEYAR-ECCAM* : *Peyar-eccam* corresponds to the participle in Sanskrit. It is of four kinds :—active affirmative relative participle, active negative relative participle, passive affirmative relative participle and passive negative relative participle. Each of these may be further divided into three according as it denotes the past, present or future action. Invariably each qualifies a noun following it.

3.22222411. *ACTIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : According to *Tolkāppiyāṇār* the form *ceyta* is the past active affirmative relative participle and the form *ceyyum* is both the present and the future active affirmative relative participle.<sup>1</sup> The finite verbs, which take 'iy' as in *urāṅkiyāṇ* to denote the past, have their active affirmative relative participle in the form *urāṅkiya*. (e.g.) *maṇṇiṇṇiṇṇa nilaṇum* (The land full of earth) (P. N. 2. 1.) ; *nilaṇṇiṇṇa vīcamṇum* (The sky which is above the land) (P.N. 2. 2.) ; *muṭṭi-viṭṭakkil iṇṇum porbōṭṭimayannum* (P. N. 2. 23, 24.) (The Himalayas with gold peaks where sleep (the deer) in the light of triad-fire). Here *iṇṇum* is the present relative participle; *teppula vāṭṭarukku aruṇṇaṭṭaṇ iṇṇum* . . . *putaṭṭar* (sons who offer oblations to manes residing in the south) (P. N. 9. 3). Here *iṇṇum* is the future relative participle. The form *ceykinṇa* as the present active affirmative relative participle is scarcely found anywhere in Sangam works. I came across the word 'ceykinṇa' in the sentence 'ceykinṇa kaṇṇaviṇṇi' in *Paripāṭal* (Pari. 163. 35). This may be taken as a participial noun in the plural number meaning "those that join" and qualifying the plural noun *kaṇṇ*. The form 'iṇṇavāṇiṇṇa', which is found in *Kural* 1157 may be explained in the same way.

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1. *Nilaṇum poruṭ-uk kalam-uk karuvi-y-um*  
*Vīṇai-mutaṭṭi kīṭavi-y-um vīṇai-y-u m-uṭa-p-paṭa*  
*A-v-v-aṭu poruṭṭum-ē r-aṇṇa v-uṇṇaiya*  
*Ceyyūṇ ceyta v-eṇṇūṇ collē.* (Tol. Col. 234.)

But in the literature and inscriptions of the medieval period, present active affirmative participles of the forms *ceykiṇṇa* and *ceyyāṇiṇṇa* are found in large numbers.

(e.g.) *celvam-uyarkīṇṇa celvar* (Rich men who are becoming richer). (T. 1, 5.)

*cellāṇiṇṇa āṇṇu* (The year which is passing). (T. A. S. i. 14.)

It also seems to me that the form *ceykiṇṇa* was very frequent in colloquial speech of that period. Hence the author of the *Vīra-cōliyam* says that the present participle is formed by adding *kiṇṇa*, *āṇiṇṇa* or *cu* to the root. The past participle is formed according to him by the addition of *ta*, *ya* or *ya* and the future participle by that of *kum* or *um*.<sup>1</sup> In the example *cey cāṭṭaṇ*, he seems to take *cey* and *cāṭṭaṇ* as separate words where *cey* is the present active affirmative relative participle which is formed by adding the participle *cu* (corresponding to *su*, the nominative singular suffix in Sanskrit) which is evidently dropped afterwards. This is done by him only to get the designation *pada* to *cey*, since, according to him, *pada* is 'suphāntam.' But *ceycāṭṭaṇ* may be taken as a compound and hence it would have been better if he had omitted it. In *kiṇṇa* and *āṇiṇṇa* mentioned by him it seems to me that 'a' is the sign of the participle and *kiṇṇu* and *āṇiṇṇu* are the present tense signs. I do not know why he failed to mention the form *ceykiṇṇa* which was frequently used in the works that were written before his time.

The author of *Naṇṇūl* follows him, but substitutes the form *ceykiṇṇa* for the form *ceykiṇṇa*.<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*

1. *Tālu-v-in-piṇṇu ta-na-ya-v-irappi nikatci-y-in-kaṇ*  
*Otuṇ-kiṇṇa-cu-v-v-o t-āṇiṇṇa-v-āṇ-kum-m-um m-oṭṭu-maṭ-*  
kāṇ

*Pētamali-y-a m-etiriṇ-kaṇ-ākum pīravum-vantāl*  
*Ētam-il catirān-tam-pilāi-y-a ma l-iyarri-k-kolḷē.*

(V. Tāt. 7.)

2. *Ceyla ceykiṇṇa ceyyum-eṇ-pāṭṭil*  
*Kālam-uñ ceyal-un tōyri-p-pāl-oṭṭu*  
*Ceyva t-ati aṇu-poruṭ peyarum*  
*Eñca niṇṇatu peyar-ec cam-m-a.* (Na. 340.)

follows Nannūlar.<sup>1</sup>

3.22222412. *ACTIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : In the ancient period only the form *ceyyāta* seems to have been in use and it may have been used in all tenses. (e.g.) *payan illāta col* (word which is of no use) (K, 198). Even now the form *ceyyāta* is used in all tenses though more frequently in the past and the future : (e.g.)

*itai-c-ceyyāta payan aṭikkappaṭṭāy* (the boy who did not do this was beaten). (Colloq.)

*itai-c-ceyyāta payan aṭikkappaṭṭukirāy* (the boy who does not do this is beaten). (Colloq.)

*itai-c-ceyyāta payan aṭikkappaṭṭuvāy* (the boy who will not do this will be beaten). (Colloq.)

Besides the form *ceyyāta*, the periphrastic forms *ceyyāmul irunta*, *ceyyāmal irukkiṇṇa* and *ceyyāmal irukkum* are respectively used in the past, present and future tenses.

3.22222413. *PASSIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE*. In the works of the ancient period perhaps except in Kuṇaḷ it seems that there was no form belonging to this class. In the later periods the forms *ceyyappaṭṭa*, *ceyyappaṭṭukinṇa* and *ceyyappaṭṭum* are used in the past, present and future tense respectively. (e.g.)

*kuyazanār ceyyappaṭṭa kuṭam* (pot which was made by the potter). (Colloq.)

*taccanār ceyyappaṭṭukinṇa nārkaḷi* (chair which is made by the carpenter). (Colloq.)

*aracanār kaṭappaṭṭum māḷikai* (palace built by the king). (Colloq.)

3.22222414. *PASSIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : As in the case of forms of passive affirmative relative

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1. *Avarruḷ*

*Ceyta ceykinṇa ceyyum-eṇ pāṭṭil*

*Ceyva t-āti aru-poruḷ peyar-oṭṭu*

*Muṭiyu muraṭiyatū peyar-ec cam-m-ē.* (I. V. 243.)

participle, it seems to me that there were no forms for this in the ancient period except in *Kūṛaḷ*. In the later periods, the form *ceyyappaṭāḷa* was used in all tenses. In modern times the periphrastic forms *ceyyappaṭāṇmal-iruntā*, *ceyyappaṭāṇmal irukkiṇṇa* and *ceyyappaṭāṇmal-irukkuṇṇu* are also found used in the past, present and future tenses respectively. (e.g.) *kēṭṭappaṭāḷa ceṇi* (K. 418).

The author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* says that the suffix denoting the active participles corresponds to *śatṛpratyaya* and *kēṇac pratyaya* in Sanskrit and the passive participles like *ceyyappaṭā* end in *kānacpratyaya*. It must be noted here that *śatṛ* and *kēṇac* in *gaccan* and *gamyamāṇa* are two entirely different *pratyayas*, while 'a' in *ceyṭa* and *ceyyappaṭā* is one and the same.

3.22222+15. WHAT IS THE ORIGIN OF 'A', THE ENDING OF THE PRESENT AND PAST PARTICIPLES CEYKINŔA, IRAVĀNIŔA, CEYŦA, ETC.? From the use of the words *ceykinṇa* and *iravāniṇṇa* in the *Paripāṭal* and the *Kūṛaḷ*<sup>1</sup> respectively qualifying plural nouns *kaṇ* and *vaḷai*, it seems to me that *ceykinṇa*, *iravāniṇṇa* and *ceyṭa* may have been the nominative neuter plurals of the neuter singular forms *ceykinṇū*, *iravāniṇṇū*,<sup>2</sup> *ceyṭū*, when they were used as participial nouns. I have already shown at some length how the finite verbal forms could be used as participial nouns and declined in all cases. Originally they may have been used to qualify neuter plural nouns, but later on, since the neuter plural nouns like *kaṇ*, *vaḷai*, etc. had the same form as the singular as an alternative for *kaṇkaḷ*, *vāḷaikaḷ*, etc. the words like *ceykinṇa* may have been used along with singular nouns and later on may have been used to qualify all kinds of nouns. Dr. Caldwell thinks<sup>3</sup> that 'a' is a possessive case sign; but I have already shown that the possessive case sign 'a' mentioned by Nannūḷār may have evolved from 'a' the sign of the neuter plural in verbs.

1. *Ceykinṇa kaṇ*. (Pari. 163, 35.)

*Iravāniṇṇa vaḷai*. (K. 1157.)

2. *Ceykinṇū*:—*cey* (root) + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṇ* (cāriyai) + *ṇū* (neuter singular termination.)

3. C. D. G. 523.

3.2222242. *VINAI-Y-ECCAM*: *Vinai-y-eccam* corresponds to indeclinable past participles like Sanskrit *gatvā* and gerunds like *gantum* in Sanskrit, and infinitive verbal forms denoting condition and cause, which are not found in Sanskrit.

The indeclinable past participles are of two kinds—the affirmative past participle and the negative past participle. The affirmative indeclinable past participial forms are according to Tolkāppiyāṇār *ceytū*, *ceyyū* and *ceypū*. He does not mention the negative indeclinable past participial forms; but uses the form *koḷātū* in Tol. Col. 198, and this form is frequently used in literature. (e.g.) *vāyil mātū kūyil pukkām* (we entered the palace without informing the gate-keeper) (P. N. 67. 10). According to Tolkāppiyāṇār, the forms that are gerunds are *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyarkū*, *ceytena* and *ceya*, and the form that is used as infinitive denoting condition is *ceyig*.<sup>1</sup>

**CEYTŪ**: This is formed, I think, by adding *tu* to the root *cey*. It denotes an action done previous to that which is denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (e.g.) *ceytū vāntān*. It may be noted here that this suffix *tu* and the stem *tu* of the suffixes *tam*, *tvā tavē* and *tōh*, in *gantum*, *gatvā*, *sarjavē* and *gaulōh* of Vēdic Sanskrit are similar. In addition to the form *ceytū*, the forms *pōy* and *urāṅki* are used. Here *tu* is not added to the root, but *y* or *i* is added. If *i* happened to be the earlier suffix, it may be said that it was changed to *y*<sup>2</sup> in the case of certain verbs. These forms *ceytū*, *urāṅki* and *pōy* have lived to the present day, unlike the forms *ceyyū* and *ceypū*.

**CEYYŪ**: Cēṇāvaraiyar and Naccipārkkinīyar mention that this denotes an action done previous to that denoted by the verb finite or infinite which it qualifies.<sup>3</sup> (e.g.) *itai pūtaiyū . . . erri*

1. *Ceytū ceyyū-c ceypū ceytena-c*  
*Ceyyiyar ceyyiya ceyig-ceya-c ceyarkēṇa*  
*A-v-vakai y-nypatum vinai-y-eṇcu kīlavi.*

(Tol. Col. 228.)

2. Cf. *Ikara yakara m-iṇuti vīravum*. (Tol. E. 58.)
3. *Ukāram unṇūvanlān, tīyū-vāntān enaṇp-  
 piy-varum tolārkū itai-y-iṅri muṇ-varum*

(Pattu, 227, 376). But there are examples where it denotes an action more or less simultaneous with that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. Thus in the sentence 'tōl ōcci valan vaḷai-yūu-p-pakal maḱil tūṅkum' (Pattu, 136, 145.) which means 'dancing at day time with the left shoulder bent towards the right', the word *vaḷaiyūu* qualifies the present participle *tūṅkum* and the action of bending denoted by it remains so long as the action of dancing denoted by *tūṅkum* remains. Hence it seems that Teyvaccilaiyār has mentioned that this form *ceyyā* may denote an action simultaneous with that of the word which it qualifies.<sup>1</sup> This form *ceyyā* sometimes changes to *ceyyā*.<sup>2</sup>

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam says that this corresponds to the form *kāram* in Sanskrit where the *ṇamulpratyaya* is added to the root.<sup>3</sup> There is no purpose served by taking it so. This has almost given place to the form *ceyyā* even in the ancient period. (e.g.) *kalam eṇiyā civanṭurāy* (P. N. 4, 10).

**CEYPŪ :** Cēṇavaraiyār thinks that this denotes an action simultaneous with that which is denoted by the word which it qualifies. Teyvaccilaiyār and Naccinārkkinīyār quote one and the same sentence 'palarā-p-paccilai-y-iṭai-y-uṭupū toṭutta' where the action denoted by *uṭupū* is previous to that denoted by *toṭutta* and hence think that the form *ceypū* may also denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. This agrees with the use of the word 'teripū' in *teripū-vēṇu kiḷattal* (Tol. Col. 49) by Tolkāppiaṇār himself. This like *ceyyā*, is practically extinct.

The form **CEYYĀTŪ** evidently denotes the absence of an action that should have been done before that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (e.g.) *nirayaṅ koḷpavaratū onrātū . . .*

*toḷig-māl iṇanta-kālam paṇri varum.*

(Tol, Col. 228, Cēṇā.)

1. *Ceyyā-eypatū iṇanta-kālamum nikaḷ-kālamum kaṭṭum.*

(Tol. Col. 228, Tey.)

2. *Ceyyā v-eṇṇum viṇai-y-eṇṇu kiḷaviyūm.* (Tol. E. 223.)

3. *Ceyyā-e ceyyū-e ceypū-v-e e-eccaṇ*

*Kamūṇ-ē ṇamul-ē yap-p-eṇa i-ākam.* (P. V. 38, Comm.)



*ōmpumati* (P. N. 5, 6 & 7). The form *ceyyāmai* is used in the same sense by Tolkāppiyāṇār in the sūtra

*Aṭai-ciyai mutal-ēṇa mūrai-mūṇṇu mayāñkāmai*  
*Naṭai-ṭeṇ ṭiyalum vaṇṇa-c ciyai-c-col.* (Tol. Col. 26.)

In addition to them the form *ceyyāmai* is found in Sangam works. (e.g.) *tirāmar kāppatōr tiranūṇṭi* (Ka. T. Vol. I, 287, 13.); *ceyyāmar ceḷa-v-ṇṭavi* (K. 101). The latter form is more frequently used in modern days than the former.

What could have been its origin? I venture to suggest the following explanation:—

From the frequent use of compound forms like *ceḷvēm allēm* (P. N. 31. 11.), *teḷutāṇam allamō* (P. N. 60. 6.) in old Tamil literature, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that a compound formation of the type of *kāṇām allām* was also current beside the forms *kāṇēm allēm*, and *kāṇṇam allām*. Now it is easy to see how an extended form like *kāṇāmai* representing the negative indeclinable participle may have sprung up, by the line of separation being erroneously drawn between *kāṇāmai* and *ām*. In all probability, the form *kāṇāmai* which arose in this manner may have been used first in association with a verb of the first person plural and subsequently may have acquired an extended use in association with other persons and numbers also. Then the forms like *ceyyāmai* may have sprung up. The form *ceyyāmē* is also found in use.

**GERUNDS: CEYYIYAR AND CEYYIYA:** These mean exactly 'for the purpose of doing'. Hence they qualify a word which denotes an action previous to that denoted by itself. These two are practically extinct now. It is worth noting that the gerunds *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya* are similar in form to that of the finite verbs in the optative mood. cf. *nī vāḷiyar* (P.N. 137.14); *vāḷiya nī* (Ka. T. Vol. 2.583.21).

**CEYARKŪ:** This conveys the same sense as *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya*. In form it appears to be the fourth case of the verbal

1. *Añcōṇa vaṇṇaṇ-ēṇ ṇ-ār-uyīr nēyaka ṇ-ālāmē*

(my dear life-giver, blue in colour as collyrium, not ruling.) . . . . (Kampar. Kuka. 14.)

noun *ceyal*. It is similar to the form *sartauṣ* in Vedic Sanskrit since both the forms are dative. Examples like *varaykū* (to come) (P. N. 64. 7), *valaṅ-ceyarkū* (to go round in clock-wise direction) (P. N. 6. 18) are very frequent in literary works. But in modern times the form *ceyvatarkū* is more frequently used than the form *ceyarkū*.

**CEYA:** This conveys the same meaning as *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyarkū*, when it qualifies a finite verb, a participle, indeclinable past participle or another gerund. This is sometimes used as an absolute. In examples like *maḷai peyya*, *kuḷam niṟaintatū*, (rain falling, the tank became full) the gerund *peyya* denotes an action previous to that denoted by the verb *niṟaintatū* which follows it; and in examples like *āḍyiru paṭa*, *avaṅ vantāṅ*, (the sun setting, he came) the gerund *paṭa* denotes an action simultaneous with that denoted by the verb *vantāṅ* which follows it: It may also denote an action subsequent to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies (e.g.) *makkāḷ cūkamāy irukka tantai paṇaṅ cērtiḍṇ*. (The father amassed wealth so that his children might live happily.) This form has lived to the present day. Sometimes, the form *ceyya* takes its place.

**CEYIN:** This means 'if you do'. A similar infinitive form is not found in Sanskrit. This form *ceyin* is frequently used in the works of the Sangam period. (e.g.) *paricūḷ nalkuvaṭṭaiyāyin* (if you give presents) (P. N. 116. 5). This may be taken as an ablative infinitive. It is similar in form to the ablative infinitive *gantōḥ* in Vedic Sanskrit, though they differ in sense. The form is gradually giving place to the form *ceytāl* which is evidently a third case formed from the stem *ceytū*. (e.g.) *eṇṇiyiruntāl* (if you have thought) (Kampar. A. 276. 88.)

In the ancient period the negative form corresponding to *ceyin* is *ceyinaḷlāl*. (e.g.) *niṅ kaṇ peṇṇaḷlāl* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 524. 8). In modern days the forms *ceyyāviṭṭiṅ* and *ceyyāviṭṭāl* are used instead.

**CEYTENA:** This form is generally used as an absolute, though there are instances like *viḷuttakai perukēṇa vēṇṭutum* (Pari. 93. 117) where it is used like other gerunds. It generally denotes the cause of the action denoted by the verb which follows it.

(e.g.) *putuṇṇeyal pōlintēṇa kōṇalar . . . vēru pulam paraṇṇi* (Since there were new showers, shepherds having gone to new lands) (Pattu. 323, 2 to 4) and hence it should invariably denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which follows it. This form has almost died out.

In addition to the above forms, Tolkāppiyāṇār has mentioned the forms *ceyṭaiṇ*, *ceyṭamūṇ*, *ceyṭakkāl*, *ceyvaḷi*, *ceyṭam*, etc., which end in the words *ṇiṇ*, *mūṇ*, etc. which denote time.

Besides, the form *ceyṭum* is used in the literature of the ancient period in the sense 'though one does'. (e.g.) *nī vēṇṭiṇum* (though you want) (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 576, 20). This is evidently formed from *ceyṇ* by the addition of the particle *um*. This is to a certain extent parallel to the form *krivāpi* (*krivā + api*) in Sanskrit.

The author of the Vīracōliyam mentions that the particles *poruṭṭū*, *ka*, *pāṇ*, *taṇkū*, *vāṇ* and *a* are added after roots to give the sense of *tumanta* (i.e.) gerunds.<sup>1</sup> The examples for the same are found in the commentary under the same stanza:— They are *uṇṇutarporuṭṭū vantiṇ* (he came to eat), *kaṇka lāṇpariyantiṇ* (he intended to read), *paṭiṇṇāṇ vantiṇ* (he came to read,) *pōtaṇkū niṇaintiṇ* (he thought to go), *aṇivāṇ karuṭṭuṇṭū* (he desired to know), *uṇṇa vantiṇ* (he is able to eat). Here it is evident that the forms *uṇṇutarporuṭṭū* and *pōtaṇkū* are respectively the fourth case of the verbal nouns *uṇṇutal* and *pōtal*. The forms *kaṇka* and *uṇṇa* come under the same category as *ceyā* mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār. In the case of *paṭiṇṇāṇ* and *aṇivāṇ* in the sentences '*paṭiṇṇāṇ vantiṇ*' and '*aṇivāṇ karuṭṭuṇṭū*', they may have been originally finite verbs and were later on taken as gerunds.

1. *Maṇṇum tumantam poruṭṭū-k-ka-p-pāṇ-taṇkū vāṇ-a-v-eṇṇū*

*Paṇṇum-eḷir-tāṭū viṇ-piṇṇū-ākum paṇaril-maṇṇū*

*Tuṇṇiya tāṭu-t toḷir-poruṭṭāka v-eṇṇum-toḷareci*

*Uṇṇiya-pōteṇṇū teyva-p-pulava v-uraṭṭaṇarē.*

(V. Tāt. 8.)

How this happened may thus be explained. Tolkāppiyāṇār recognises the use of a number of finite verbs without conjunctive particles, in syntactic agreement with the same subject.<sup>1</sup> It does not require much effort to see that collocations of this kind—*puṭṭiyāṇai vantaṭu kāṇṭāṇ yāṇ iṇṇikiyēṇ* (I stayed to see the new elephant) (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 592, 7), *colliyāṇ . . . tēṇṇuvāṇ* (Kampar. A. 213, 16), *paṇṇu cēṇṇāṇ paṭṭiṇṇāṇ varuvāṇ* (he came to read so that he might earn money) (Colloq.)—may have led to forms like *kāṇṭāṇ*, *cēṇṇāṇ*, *paṭṭiṇṇāṇ*, being taken as gerunds in the sense of *cēṇṇā* and *paṭṭikkā*.

Similarly he says that the particles *ā*, *iṭṭu*, *tu*, *u* and *i* are added to roots to convey the sense of *ivāṇṭa*.<sup>2</sup> The examples for the same are, as given in the commentary, *uṇṇā-p-pōṇāṇ*, *uṇṇiṭṭu-p-pōṇāṇ*, *uṇṇu-pōṇāṇ*, *puṇṇu-p-pōṇāṇ*, *puṇṇu-p-pōṇāṇ*, and *collu-niṇṇāṇ*. Of these *ā*, *tu* and *i* have already been mentioned. The particle *iṭṭu* is evidently the indeclinable past participle of the root *iṭṭu* and it seems to have been used in the colloquial speech at the time of the author of the Viracōliyam as a particle giving the sense of *ivāṇṭa*. The form *puṇṇu* may have originally been *puṇṇū* and *ā* may have been shortened to *u*.

The author of the Nēminātam has omitted the forms *ceyyiṇ* and *ceyyā* mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār, since such forms may have gone out of use in his time, incorporated the forms ending in *ā* and *pōṇ* mentioned by the author of the Viracōliyam and has added another form ending in *pākkū*.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Avaitām*  
*Tattāṇ kiṭṭai y-aṭukkuna variyum*  
*Ettirāt tāṇum peyar-muṭi pīṇavē.* (Tol. Col, 429.)
2. *Ā-v-uṇ-iṭṭu-u-tu-v-u-m-u-v-u-iṇṇiyyu-m-aṇu-pulavar*  
*Ēvūṇ-karuttā v-iṇu-taiṭ k-aṇṇiṭṭu munṇu-niṇṇu*  
*Mēvum-porai-tāṭu viṇ-piṇ-varu-mikka tāṇ-peyarē*  
*Pāvum-tuvāṇṭam-a tāṇ-ṇṇuraippar pōṇi-mōṇiṇē.*  
(V. Tāl. 9.)
3. *Ceytū ceyā-c-c-eyyā-c ceyyiya ceytēṇa-c*  
*Ceypū ceyiṇ-ceyar keṇṇaṇṇavum-moy-kulalāy*  
*Piṇ-muṇ-pāṇ pākkum pīṇavum viṇai-y-eccā-c*  
*Caṇ-muṇ vakuttōr tuṇiṇu.* (N. N. Col. 43.)

The author of the Naṇṇūl has mentioned all the forms noted by Tolkāppiyaṇār except *ceyarkū* and adopted the forms ending in *ā*, *vāy* and *pāy* from the author of the Viracōliyam and the forms ending in *pākkū* from the author of the Nēminātam.<sup>1</sup>

Cēnāvaraiyar in his commentary under Tol. Col. 229 mentions the form ending in *pākkū* and also other forms ending in *ā* as *ceyāā* and *ma* as *ceyāmal* (negative), etc. (e.g.) *oṇṇu kuṇaiṭṭāmal* (Cilap. 57. 9.)

Nacciṇārkkiniyar in his commentary under the same sūtra adds a form ending in *vākkū*.

The author of the Ilakkaṇaviṭṭakam repeats what has been said by the author of the Naṇṇūl.<sup>2</sup>

WHAT IS THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE FORMS ENDING IN PĀKKŪ AND VĀKKŪ? There are three instances where the suffix *pākkū* is used in the Kuṇal. They are found in the Kuṇal, 136, 164 and 1312. In the first two, the word *paṭupākkū* appears and in the last, *eyypākkū*. From the context they mean only *paṭutal* and *eyytal*. *Pākkū*, here, may be understood as a suffix added to a root to form a verbal noun denoting the action alone. Thus a form like *paṭupākkū* may be analysed into the root *paṭu*, the formative suffix *pu* and *ākkū* the noun form of the root *āku*. But the forms ending in *pākkū* and *vākkū* mentioned by the authors of the Nēminātam and the Naṇṇūl and Nacciṇārkkiniyar are gerunds. Nacciṇārkkiniyar quotes a sentence '*paṇar-taru-ceran-taru-pākkū-c-ceyṛāy*' as an example of the gerund ending in *pākkū* and quotes a colloquial expression '*koṭvākkū vāṭṭāy*' as an example of the gerund ending in *vākkū*. They are very rarely used in literature. What could have been their origin?

*Uṇpākkū* and *koṭvākkū* may have arisen through haplology as crippled forms of *uṇpākkūkū* and *koṭvākkūkū*, the dative singular of *uṇpākkū* and *koṭvākkū*.

1. *Ceytū ceypā ceyyā-c ceyyū-c*  
*Ceytena-c ceyā-c ceyiṭ ceyyiya ceyyiyar*  
*Vāṇ-pāy pākkēṇa viṇai-y-eccam piṇa*  
*Aintōy y-āṇuṇ mukkālam-am mūṇai-tarum.* (Na. 343.)
2. (I. V. 246.) See f.n. 2 *supra*.

The author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* has mentioned only the forms *ceyyā*, *ceyyū*, *ceyṣū*, *ceyṣ*, *ceytāl*, *ceytū* and *ceya* and coins the following sūtras to make these forms correspond to those in Sanskrit:—‘*ceyyā-c-ceyyū-c-ceyṣu v-ey-eccañ-kamuññē, ṇamulē yaṣ-ṣeṇal ākum*’ ‘*eyaveṇ eccaṁ itiyēṇal ākum*’ ‘*ceyṣ ceytāl-eyā-c-ceṣṣum iranṇinai iticēt t-eyṣar aṇṇicicūṛē*’. These mean that the forms *ceyyā*, *ceyyū* and *ceyṣū* respectively correspond to the forms in Sanskrit ending in *khamuñ* (e.g. *cāurañ hāram* in *cāurañhāram ākrōṣati*), *ṇamul* (e.g. *śmāram śmāram*) and *yaṣ* (e.g. *avaganya*); the form *ceyleya* corresponds to *kytā itī*; the forms *ceyṣ* and *ceytāl* correspond to *karōti cēt*. He also mentions that the form *ceytū* corresponds to *kytā* and *ceya* to *kartum*. Since no useful purpose is served by these sūtras of correspondence, I think they are unnecessary in a treatise on Tamil grammar.

In colloquial speech only the form *ceytū* remains for the indeclinable past participle, the forms *ceya* and *ceytaṛkū* for the gerund, *ceyṣ* and *ceytāl* to denote condition and *ceytālum* and *ceyṣum* to denote contrast in the affirmative; and in the negative voice *ceyyāmal* (e.g. *kuṛaiṣaṭāmal* (Cilap. 57. 9) for the indeclinable past participle, *ceyyāmal iruṣṣataṛkū* for the gerund and *ceyyāmal iruntāl* and *ceyyāmal iruntālum* to denote condition and contrast respectively. The presence of many forms for the gerund in the affirmative in the ancient Tamil and only a few in the modern period reminds one of the similar process of change in the history of Sanskrit infinitives.

### 3.23. IṬAI-C-COL:

3,231. *DEFINITION*: Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions in the sūtras

*Iṭai-y-eyu-p paṭuva peyaroṭum viṇai-y-oṭum*  
*Naṭai-per ṛ-iyalum tamakkiyai p-ḷavē. (Tol. Col. 249.)*  
*Avaitūm*  
*Muṇṇum piṇṇu moḷi-y-aṭṭlu varutalum*  
*Tam-m-irṇ tiritalum pīṇitava ṇilaiyalum*  
*Aṇṇavai y-ḷiā m-urīya v-eypa. (ibid. 251.)*  
*Avaitūm*  
*Puṇariya ṇilai-y-iṭai-p poruṇṇilai-k-kalanavum*  
*Viṇai-ceyay maruṇṇikīr kalamoḷu varuṇavum*  
*Vēṇṇuṇṇi-p poruḷ-vayī ṇ-urupā kunavum*  
*Acai-ṇilai-k kiḷavi y-ḷki varuṇavum*  
*Icai-ṇiṇṇai-k kiḷavi y-ḷki varuṇavum*  
*Tattaṇ kuṇṇippir poruḷ-cey kunavum*  
*Oṇṇil vaḷiyār poruḷ-cey kunavum-eyv*  
*A-p-paṇ piṇṇavē mūvaluṇ kālai. (ibid. 250.)*

that *iṭai-c-col* has no separate existence of its own, it is used along with nouns and verbs either as a part of them or before or after them and consists of the flexional increments, personal terminations of verbs, case-suffixes, particles added for the sake of euphony or for making up the quantity of verse, particles of conjunction and interjection, and those denoting comparison, etc. From this it is clear that *iṭai-c-col* in Tamil corresponds to *pratyayas* and *nipātas* in Sanskrit. The author of the Nēminātam repeats the idea contained in Tol. Col. 250 only.<sup>1</sup> The author

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1. *Cāriyai-y-a y-ayṇa l-urupāta rāṇ-kuṇṇippin*  
*Ēram poruḷ-āta giṇṇicai-y-āy-p-pēṇṇal*  
*Viṇai-c-cōṇṇir rāta l-icai-ṇiṇṇaitṭu mūval*  
*Aṇṇittē y-iṭai-c-co l-āḷavu. (N. N. Col. 50.)*

of the Nannūl summarises in one sūtra<sup>1</sup> all that is said by Tolkāppiyāṇār, in the three sūtras mentioned above. The author of the Ilakkaṇaviṭakkam<sup>2</sup> and the Tonnūlvīṭakkam<sup>3</sup> more or less repeat what is said by Nannūlār. All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam and the later grammarians think that Tol. Col. 249 deals with the definition of *iṭai-c-col*.

But it seems to me that Tolkāppiyāṇār did not intend either Tol. Col. 249 or all the three sūtras Tol. Col. 249, 251 and 250 for the purpose of defining *iṭai-c-col*; for, the most important feature of *iṭai-c-col* is that it is a *pratyaya* or formative element or a *nīpāta*. This is suggested by the name *iṭai-c-col* which means 'the side word.' That this is his idea is well seen from the sūtra

*Iṭai-c-col l-eḷḷam vēṇṇumai-c collē.* (Tol. Col. 455.)

where he says that every *iṭai-c-col* is *vēṇṇumai-c-col*. Here *vēṇṇumai-c-col* evidently means differentiating element, i. e., an element which differentiates the relation between the governing base or word to which it is appended and the following verb. For instance the case-suffix *ai* in '*irāmaṇai*' specifically defines the character of *irāmaṇ*'s relation to the following verb as its object, since the stem *irāmaṇ*, by itself, admits of several kinds of relation such as the subject, instrument, recipient, etc. Similarly *ā* in *vanṭāṇā* makes the assertive verb *vanṭāṇ* an interrogative verb and so on.

Having suggested that *iṭai-c-col* is a formative element or a *nīpāta*, Tolkāppiyāṇār says in Tol. Col. 249 and 251 that it does

1. *Vēṇṇumai viṇai cāriyai oppu urupuka!*  
*Tattam poruḷa icai-nīrai acai-nīlai*  
*Kuṇṇippe n-en-pakutiṇiṇ taṇṇiṭṭiya l-iṇri-p*  
*Peyariṇum viṇaiṇṇum piṇ-muṇ ṭriṭṭā*  
*Oṇṇum palavum van tonṇuva t-iṭai-c-col.* (Na. 420.)
2. *Vēṇṇumai viṇai-ca riṇai-y-oṇ purupuka!*  
*Tattam poruḷa v-icai-nīrai y-acai-nīlai*  
*I-t-tiṇa m-ēḷiṇ taṇṇiṭṭiya l-iṇri-p*  
*Peyariṇum viṇaiṇṇum piṇ-muṇ n-ōr-iṭṭā*  
*Oṇṇum palavum-van tonṇuva t-iṭai-c-col.* (I. V. 251.)
3. T. V. 130.



not possess a separate existence, but is used as a part of nouns or verbs or before or after either of them. He then enumerates them in detail in Tol. Col. 250.

3-232. IS ITAI-C-COL *VĀCAKA* OR *DYŌTAKA*? Cēṇavaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār mention in their commentary on Tol. Col. 249 that the word '*ītamakkiyalpila*' suggests that *itai-c-col* is not a *vācaka* but only *dyōtaka*, i.e. it does not have a meaning of its own, but only suggests that the noun or verb which it accompanies has a particular meaning. They have said so, I think, in imitation of a class of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that *upasargas* or prepositions and the case-suffixes in Sanskrit are *dyōtaka* and not *vācaka*. For instance in *upakarōti* the element *upa* does not have any meaning of its own, but suggests that the root *kr* in *upakarōti* means to help, though it can have other meanings elsewhere. Similarly, the case-suffixes suggest that the base is an object to a verb, recipient, etc.

But I think that this is not quite consistent with the definition given by Tolkāppiyagār that *col* is that which has a meaning.<sup>1</sup> I have already said in 3.1 *supra* that Tolkāppiyagār seems to follow the opinion of the Sanskrit logicians. According to the latter even the *praiyayas* are *vācaka*. Besides, even those Sanskrit grammarians who think that *upasargas* and case-suffixes are *dyōtaka* take the verbal terminations to be *vācaka* and not *dyōtaka*.

If that be so, one may ask what the importance of the word '*ītamakkiyalpila*' in the sūtra Tol. Col. 249 is. It evidently suggests that *itai-c-col* does not have a separate existence of its own outside nouns or verbs or the sentence made up of nouns or verbs.

3.233. *PARALLELS*: The sentence '*itai-y-enappaiṇṇa peyaroṭum viṇaiyoṭum naitaiperriyalum*' in Tol. Col. 249 seems to find a parallel in '*upasargā viṇṣatirarthavācakāḥ sahētarābhyaṃ*' (R. V. P. 12.6). Here one may point out that the latter deals only with *upasarga*, while the former deals with

1. Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kuri-t taṅa-v-ē. (Tol. Col. 155.)

*pratyayas* and all *nīpātas*. But the expression '*sahētarābhyaṁ*' is so beautifully translated by Tolkāppiyāṇār into '*peyaṟoṭum viṇaiyoṭum*' that it may apply to all *pratyayas* and *nīpātas*.

Besides it seems to me that Tolkāppiyāṇār in giving a list of *ṭṭai-c-col* with their meanings in *ṭṭai-y-iyal* may have had for his model the first chapter of Yāska's Nirukta where Yāska deals with *nīpātas*. The following parallels may be noted:—

1. *cīraṭṭoṭu* . . . *ōkōraṁṁē* (which means the particle *ō* is used to denote superiority.) Tol. Col. 256:

*cit* . . . *pūjāyāṁ* (Y. N. 33.12.) (*pūjā*=*cīraṭṭu*.)

2. *pirinilai* . . . *ōkōraṁṁē* (which means the particle *ō* is used in *pirinilai*.) Tol. Col. 256:

*aka iti ca ha iti ca vinigrahārthīyāṁ* (Y. N. 37.2.) (*vinigraha*=*pirinilai*.)

3. *antiḷ āṇka-v-acaiṇilai-k-kīḷavi* (which means that the words *antiḷ*, *āṇka* are used simply to make up the quantity of the verse.) Tol. Col. 267:

*athāpi pāda-pūraṇā idamu tadu* (Y. N. 37.4) (*pāda-pūraṇa*=*acaiṇilai-k-kīḷavi*.)

3.234. Prepositions in Tamil are very rare. That which approximates to it in early literature is *koṇ* in *koṇṇār*. *Koṇṇār* is mentioned by the author of the Pirayōkavivēkam as a compound having the *nīpāta koṇ* as the first member.<sup>1</sup> It may be said to be similar in form to *upagrāmam* in Sanskrit. In the later periods the nouns like *kai* in *ṭṭaiyiliyāka-k-kai-k-koṇṇu* (S. I. I. iii, i, 44.6), *puṇam* in *puṇaṅ-koṭuttāṇ* are considered as prepositions. (c. f. P. V, 45, comm.)

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1. '*Koṇṇār*' *ēya avaiyaya-pūva-paṭani-āy vanta avaiyayi-pāvam-ākiya muṇ-moḷi-y-ṭṭai-c-col varum*. (P.V. 23 comm.)

### 3.24. URI-C-COL.

3.241. *DEFINITION:* Tolkāppiyāṇār mentions in the sūtra

*Uri-c-cor kiḷavi virikkun̄ kōlai*  
*Icai-y-iṇuṇ̄ kurippin̄um paṇṇin̄um tōṇri-p*  
*Peyariṇ̄um viṇaiyinū mey-taṭu māri*  
*Oru-cor pala-poruṭ k-urimai tōṇṇin̄um*  
*Pala-col l-oru-poruṭ k-urimai tōṇṇin̄um*  
*Payilāta varrai-p payiṇṇavai cāriti-t*  
*Tatta maraṇ̄i coru-nilai maruṇ̄kiṇ̄*  
*E-c-col l-āyiyum poruṭ vēru-kiḷattal.* (Tol. Col. 297.)

that *uri-c-col* in its detailed significance denotes *icai*, *kurippu* and *paṇṇu*. Its form undergoes modification in nouns and verbs. It may have many meanings or it may have the same meaning as others of its kind and it is to be explained in literature by means of words ordinarily current in the world.

All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam mistake that this sūtra defines *uri-c-col*. Cēṇāvaraiyar feeling that the statement 'that it has many meanings, etc.' is out of place in the sūtra dealing with definition, says that though the author states that it is used in nouns and verbs with its form modified, etc., it should be defined as that which denotes *icai*, *kurippu* and *paṇṇu*.<sup>1</sup> Teyvaccilaiyar says that, since Tolkāppiyāṇār has mentioned *uri-c-col* as *kurai-c-cor-kiḷavi* in *Eluttatikāram*, it is identical with *dhātu* in Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Mey-taṭu-māraḷum oru-cor pala-poruṭ-kuri-mai-y-um, pala-col oru-poruṭ-kurimaiyum uri-c-corkū uṇmaiyeṇ̄ ōṇṇārēpum, uri-c-corkū ilakkaṇam-āvatu icai kurippu-p paṇṇinum poruṭ-kuriyavāy varutalēyām.* (Tol. Col. 297, Cēṇā.)

2. *Eluttatikāraṭṭuṭ itonai kurai-c-cor-kiḷavi eṇṇū ōṇṇamai-yāl, vaṇanāl-āciriyaṭ tātū eṇṇū kuri-y-iṭṭa corkalē ivai-y-eṇṇū kollappaṭum.* (Tol. col. 292, Teyva.)

The author of the Nēminātam summarises Tol. Col. 297 in N. N. Col. 56. The author of the Nagnūl defines that *uri-c-col* is that which is exclusively used in poetry, which cannot be separated from nouns and verbs and which denotes one *kuṇam* or quality or many qualities.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam reproduces the idea contained in Tol. Col. 297 with the modification that it is used either as *viṇai-p-pōli* (verb in imitation) and *peyar-p-pōli* (noun in imitation) or as the base of nouns or verbs and mentions in his commentary on the same that *karnppū*, *ciraṇppū* are *peyar-p-pōli* and *uṇu*, *lava* are *viṇai-p-pōli* in the same way as Cēṇāvaraiyar has done under Tol. Col. 297. Besides, he states that there are some Tamil grammarians who hold that *uri-c-col* is mostly found in poetry.

It seems to me that Tol. Col. 297 does not deal with the definition of *uri-c-col*. If it deals with it, all the lines except the first two are out of place, as is suggested by Cēṇāvaraiyar. Its definition is suggested by the name *uri-c-col*. *Uri-c-col* does not mean the word belonging to only poetry as Nagnūlār thinks, nor the word denoting quality belonging to objects as Cēṇāvaraiyar and others think. It means the word denoting the independent part of a noun or verb; for the word *urimai* means 'right' and hence independence. Its nature in form is clearly expressed in the sūtra—

*Eluttu-p-pirin ticaitta l-iṇaiyaḷ p-iṇṇē*. (Tol. Col. 395.) which may be translated thus:—'It is not in its nature capable of being further analysed'. This and the word *kurai-c-col-kiḷavi* mentioned in the last but one sūtra of *Eluttatikāram* clearly suggest that *uri-c-col* is the root of nouns or verbs. It cannot be taken to be identical with Sanskrit *dhātu* as mentioned by Teyvaccilaiyār since *dhātu* is, according to the Sanskrit Grammarians, a verbal root and since Tolkāppiyāṇār has not suggested anywhere in his work that all nouns are derived from verbal roots. Teyvaccilaiyār seems to have said so thinking that Tol-

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1. *Pal-vakai-p paṇṇum paṇar-peya r-āki*  
*Oru-kuṇam pala-kuṇan taluṇi-p peyar-viṇai*  
*Oruva ceyyūṭṭu uriyaṇa uri-c-col.* (Na. 442.)

kāppiyanār follows the theory of Śākaṭāyana and Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me that he follows the theory of Gārgya and another section of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that it is not necessary that all nouns should have been derived from verbal roots.<sup>2</sup> The chief reason for the latter view is that neither Tolkāppiyanār nor the later grammarians have attempted to derive all nouns from verbal roots. Hence *uri-c-col* may be taken as the nominal or verbal root

3.242. *NATURE OF URI-C-COL*: If so, what is the purpose served by Tol. Col. 297? I may say that it explains it. The part '*icaiyiyum karippiyum paṇṇiyum tōṇṇi*' means 'used to denote *icai* (sound) *karippu* (feeling) and *paṇṇu* (*jāti*—genus *guṇa*—quality or *kriyā*—'action')'. The part '*orucol palaṣoruṇ karimai tōṇṇiyum*' means 'though the same root can have different meanings'. The part '*palaṣol oruṣoruṇ karimai tōṇṇiyum*' means 'though different roots are used in the same sense'. The part '*payilāṭavarṇai payiṇṇarai cāṭṭi . . . kiḷattal*' means 'one should explain the meaning of the root which is not current by one which is current'.

3.243. *URI-Y-IYAL IN TOLKĀPPIYAM AND YĀSKA'S NIRUKTA*: A close examination of the first sūtra in this section (*uri-y-iyal*) and those that follow, and the second, third and fourth chapters of Yāska's Nirukta shows that Tolkāppiyanār may have had Nirukta for his model. The portion '*orucol palaṣoruṇ karimai tōṇṇiyum*' has a parallel in '*ēkārtham anēkaśabdān ityētaduktam* (Y. N. 265.1)'. The portion '*palaṣol oruṣoruṇ karimai tōṇṇiyum*' has a parallel in '*atha yānyanēkārthāni ēkaśabdanī tānyatō anukramisyāmaḥ* (Y. N. 266.2)'. The expression '*payilāṭavarṇai*' has a parallel in '*anavagatasamṣkārān ca nigamān* (Y. N. 266.3). The expression '*velippaṭu collē*' has a parallel in '*saṁsṛjñātāni tāni*' in the sentence '*ladyatra*

1. *Tatra nāmāni ākhyātajāniti Śākaṭāyanō nirukta-samayaś ca.* (Y.N. 56, 2.)

2. *Na sarvāṇi ity ēva gārgyō vāiyākaraṇānēṇ cāikē.*

(Y. N. 56, 3.)

*svarasaṁskārāṁ samarthāṁ prādeśikena guṇena anvītāṁ syātām saṁvijñānāni tāni* ' (Y. N. 56.4).

The list of *uri-e-col* given by Tolkāppiyāṇār may be divided into that which deals with verbal roots and that which deals with nominal roots. For instance, the words *vārtal*, *pōkal*, *ñirttal* etc., in Tol. Col. 317 & 318 denotes only the verbal roots *vār*, *pō*, *ñir* exactly in the same way as *āvayati*, *bhāvati*, *vēti*, etc., given in Y.N. page 195, *rēlatē*, *hēlatē*, etc., in page 197 of the same, etc. The words *viḷumam*, *cārmal*, *karuvī* mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 and 354 are similar to *mahat*, *buddhaḥ*, etc., given in Y. N. page 213. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that Tolkāppiyāṇār does not seem to have incorporated in Tamil grammar the theory of the Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.

It may be interesting to note that the Tamil word *uṇu* found in the sūtra '*uṇu tava nāṇi . . . miḥuti eṇṇuṁ poruḷa*' (Tol. Col. 299) and the Sanskrit word *uru* in '*uru tavi puru . . . iti dvādaśa bahundānāni* (Y.N. 212.1) both head the list of words having the sense 'much'. The Tamil grammarians have not been able to satisfactorily explain the derivation of the Tamil '*uṇu*' and the Tamil '*tava*' in the sense of 'much'. But a consideration of the Nirukta parallel indicated above (*uru tavi* . . .) might help any one in equating the Tamil *uṇu* and *tava* in the sense of 'much' with Sanskrit *uru* and *tavi* in the same sense, and in appreciating the correspondence between the two sets of words both on the phonological and semantic sides. The way in which Tolkāppiyāṇār frames a list of words whose derivation cannot be ascertained—such as *nāṇi*, *kaṇi*—is very similar to the manner in which Yāska frames a list of *asaṁvijñāta* words like *jahā*, *nidhā*, etc. in pp. 267 and 269 of the Nirukta.

Besides, Tolkāppiyāṇār first gives the list of roots which have the same meaning and then only roots which have different meanings. In Nirukta too, list of words having the same meaning is given in the second and third chapters and the list of those having different meanings is given in the fourth and fifth chapters.

On considering the above points, it may be clear that Tol. Col. 294 does not deal with the definition of *Uri-c-col*. The statement of Nāgūlār that it is used only in poetry was made on account of the mistaken notion that only the words like *uṇu*, *tava*, *naṇi*, etc. whose derivation is believed to be obscure are *uri-c-col*. He seems to have failed to note the sūtra '*veḷiṇṇaṇ collē kiḷattal vēṇṭā, veḷiṇṇaṇ vārā uricconmēṇa*' (Tol. Col. 298) which means that the *uri-c-col* which are in use are not mentioned here and only those which are not in use, are mentioned.

I really wonder how Cēṇāvaraiyar and the author of the *Hakkaṇaviḷakkam* countenance the opinion of Nāgūlār that *uri-c-col* is found only in poetry as an alternative theory. The reason for this, it seems to me, is that they may have mistaken *viḷumam*, *cīrmai*, etc. mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 for noun forms, since they say that *karupṇū*, *cīraṇṇū*, etc. are *peyar-p-pōli* while such forms evidently represent nominal roots as explained above.

From the above arguments one can very well see that it would not be correct to say that all words are *uri-c-col*, as the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* has said in one place (P. V, 18, comm. p. 31.) or to include it in *iḷai-c-col* as the same grammarian has done in another place (P. V. 42, comm.); nor would it be correct to define *uri-c-col* as 'one of a few indeclinables which always have the force of adjective or adverb<sup>1</sup>.

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1. T. L. p. 441.

#### 4. WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUNDS.

4.1. **WORD-FORMATION:** It seems to me that according to Tolkāppiyāṇār that words, generally nouns and verbs, are formed by suffixing one or more *iṭai-c-col* to *uri-c-col*, as *kariyaṇ*, *kariya*], etc. or by suffixing *iṭai-c-col* to nouns or verbs as *valaiyaṇ*, *vaṇṇṇai*, etc.

The author of the *Viracōḷiyam*, in imitation of Pāṇini's grammar, names the suffixes that are added to words as *taddhita* and gives their list in V. Tat. 1, 4 and 5. They are *an*, *iyaṇ*, *iṇaṇ*, *ēyaṇ*, etc.; *mai*, *am*, *pu*, *tu*, *vu*, *kaṁ*, etc.; and *acci*, *āṭṭi*, *aṇi*, *āṭṭi*, *āḷ*, *aḷ*, *i*, etc. The examples given by the commentator for the same are *valaiyaṇ*, *vēṭiyaṇ*, *kulīyaṇ*, *vaiṇatēyaṇ*, etc.; *valimai*, *nilam*, *melippū*, *valitū*, *melivu*, *kuṟukkam*, etc.; *paṇacci*, *vellāṭṭi*, *pārppaṇi*, *vannāṭṭi*, etc. Here an unnecessary mixing-up of Sanskrit *taddhita pratyayas* and Tamil *pratyayas* has been done; for instance, *īya* in *kulīya* and *ēya* in *vaiṇatēya* are Sanskrit *pratyayas*; the *pratyayas* given in V. Tat. 4 are strictly speaking *ḥri pratyayas*; but the author of the *Viracōḷiyam* seems to take it that *valimai*, *kuṟukkam*, etc. are formed from the nouns *vali*, *kuṟu*, etc., which, in his opinion, are formed from the roots *val*, *kuṟ*, etc. But we do not find such verbal forms as *val* and *kuṟ*. As regards the third list the same confusion is made. The Sanskrit word *brāhmaṇastrī*, if Tamilised, becomes *pārppaṇattī* and *pārppaṇacci*. Hence *acci* and *attī* are not, strictly speaking, suffixes. The word *vannāṭṭi* is evidently formed from *vannāṇ* + *attū* (*cāriya*) + *i*, where the *ṇ* of *vannāṇ* is dropped. Hence all the suffixes noted in V. Tat. 5 could be brought under *i*, *aḷ* and *āḷ*. Similarly he makes mention of *ḥri pratyayas* in V. Tat. 3 and 4.

He forms the nominative case of nouns by adding *cu* and then dropping it, in direct imitation of Pāṇini's grammar.



Nannūlār takes the forms *naṣa*, *vā*, etc. as the roots like the author of the *Viracōḷiyam*;<sup>1</sup> but does not agree that *ceṁmai*, *cīṁmai*, etc. are derived from verbs, but says that they are *pakāppatam* or indivisible words.

According to him, the case-forms of nouns are formed by adding case-suffixes to nouns or participial nouns, e.g. *kaṇṇanai*, *pōṇēnai*; *cāriyai* may be inserted before the case-suffix; the verbal forms are formed by adding the tense sign followed by the personal terminations to the roots in general.

All the later grammarians follow Nannūlār<sup>2</sup> except the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, who follows the author of the *Viracōḷiyam*. The parallelism between V. Tāt. 2 and 3 and P. V. 31 and 32 is striking. He divides *tattitay* into three as *cāmāṇiya-tattitay*, *arvīyatattitay*, and *pāvātattitay*<sup>3</sup>, and enumerates them in P. V. 30 to 34. The difference between the author of the *Viracōḷiyam* and that of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* is that the latter does not mix the Tamil suffixes with Sanskrit suffixes though he imports the Sanskritic technical terms.

4.2. COMPOUNDS: 4.21. MEANING OF THE WORD 'TOKAI': The word that is chosen by Tolkāppiyāṇār to denote compounds is *tokai*. The word *tokai* is derived from the root 'toka' which means to elide and also to join together. Cēṇā-

1. *Māṇṇiya-cir-vaṣa nālir-cora-paca v-ciruv-vantū*  
*Tuṇṇiya-tātu-k kaḷiṇ-pōli-pōla-t toku-tamikkum*  
*Pāṇṇiya-tātu-k kaḷai-p-paṭaittu-k-koḷka muṇṇilaiyiy*  
*Uṇṇiya-v-ēva l-orumai-c-cor-pōṇṇula kiṟkōkkavē.*  
(V. Tāt. 1.)
2. *Naṣa-vā maṭi-ci viṭu-kū vā-vai*  
*No-p-pō van-v-uri āṇ-porun tiru-tiṇ*  
*Tēy-pār celuvai vā-kē t-a: kenrū*  
*Iṇṇavai mutala v-ellā viṇaiyūn*  
*Teriṇilai viṇaiyiy mutanilai y-akum.* (I. V. 43)  
*Naṣa, vā, uṇ, tiṇ itatakkottēna viṇai-p-pakā-p-patam.*  
(ibid. 40, comm.)
3. *Cāmā ṇiyam-av viyam-pāva mūṇṇēṇa-t tattitay-vērū*  
(P. V. 30.)

varaiyar<sup>1</sup> mentions that there are two schools of interpretation of the word *tokai*; one adopts the first meaning of the root *toku* and thinks that *tokai* is that where the case-suffixes, the particle *um*, the particles of comparison, the ending of *paṇṇu-p-peyar* and the ending of verbs are dropped and the other adopts the second meaning and thinks that *tokai* is that in which two or more words are joined together. He belongs to the latter school and condemns the former school for the following two reasons:— (1) According to their interpretation even the expressions *ceyṭṭy peruḷ* and *iruntāy māṭattū* would become *tokai* since the case-suffixes *ai* and *āy* have been respectively dropped after the words *peruḷ* and *māṭattū*. (2) Even those who hold the former theory cannot but accept the unitary nature of a compound. These two reasons cannot stand if *tokai* is taken to be that in which two or more words are joined together by dropping case-suffixes, etc. Besides, Tolkāppiyāṇār himself describes the unitary nature of compounds in the sūtra

*Ellā-t tokai-y-n m-oru-con paṭaiya.* (Tol. Col. 420.)

and dropping of case-suffixes, etc., in the sūtra

*Paṇṇu-toka varṭuṇ kiḷavi y-āyūm*

*Uṇmai tokka peyar-vayī y-āyūm*

*Vēṇṇumai tokka peyar-vayī y-āyūm*

*Iṇṇ-niṇ riyalu m-aṇṇuḷi-t tokai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 418.)

where he deals with *aṇṇuḷittokai* or *bahuvrīhi* compound. Hence the choice of the word '*tokai*' shows the genius of Tolkāppiyāṇār. It may be very interesting to note here that the Sanskrit name '*samāsa*' also, while it explicitly refers to composition, also implicitly conveys the idea of curtailment as may be seen from the contrast between the Sanskrit words *vyāsa* and *samāsa*. The interpretation of the word *tokai* by Cēṇāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār is possibly based upon the obvious meaning

1. *Vēṇṇumai-y-urupum uvaṇṇa-v-urupum um-m-aiyūm viṅai-c-col-l-iṇṇu paṇṇu-c-col-l-iṇṇu tokutaliṇ tokai-y-āyīya v-eṇṇārum, a-v-v-a-p-paruṇṇmēl iruṇṇu paḷavum-ākiya corkaḷ piḷavu-paṭāṭū oruṇṇumai-p-paṭa-t tam-m-n-i-vaṇṇaliṇ tokai-y-āyīya v-eṇṇārum-eṇṇa iruṇṇattār ācīriyar.* (Tol. Col. 412, Cēṇā.)

of the word *samāsa* (composition). Though Teyvaccilaiyār gives this interpretation of *lokai* under Tol. Col. 412, he takes into consideration the other meaning also in the word *lokku* in *paṇṇu taka* . . . (Tol. Col. 418).

The author of the *Viracōliyam*, though he takes *lokai* to correspond to the term *samāsa*, (composition) clearly mentions the elision of case-suffixes, etc. in the former member of the compound (V. T. 1). The author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, on the other hand, says that he agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyār and repeats the reasons assigned by him (P. V. 19, comtn. p. 34).

4.22. *ENUMERATION OF COMPOUNDS AND THEIR NATURE*.—Tolkāppiyagār classifies compounds under six heads<sup>1</sup>:—*Vēṟṟumai-t-lokai*, *uvamai-t-lokai*, *viṇai-t-lokai*, *paṇṇu-t-lokai*, *nummai-t-lokai* and *aymoli-t-lokai*. *Vēṟṟumaittokai*<sup>2</sup> is that in which the members which form the compound stand in case-relation to each other as *por-kuṭam* (gold-pot). It corresponds to *tatpuruṣa* in Sanskrit. *Uvamai-t-lokai*<sup>3</sup> is that in which one member is compared to another as *paṇ-mēni* (gold-appearance). It corresponds to *upamāna-pūrvapada-karma-dhāraya*. *Viṇai-t-lokai*<sup>4</sup> is that in which the first member is a relative participle denoting time and the second member is the noun which it qualifies as *kol-yānai* (elephant that kills, killed or will kill). It corresponds to a part of *viśeṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karma-dhāraya*. *Paṇṇu-t-t-lokai*<sup>5</sup> is that in which the first member is generally a quality denoting colour, shape, extent, taste etc., and

1. *Vēṟṟumai-t lokai-y-ē y-uvama-t lokai-y-ē*  
*Viṇai-y-iṅ rokai-y-ē paṇṇu rokai-y-ē*  
*Ummai-t lokai-y-ē y-aymoli-t lokai-y-eṟṟu*  
*A-v-u-a t-eṇṇa lokai-moli nūlai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 412.)
2. *Vēṟṟumai-t lokai-y-ē vēṟṟumai y-iyala.* (ibid. 413.)
3. *Uvama-t lokai-y-ē y-uvama v-iyala.* (ibid. 414.)
4. *Viṇai-y-iṅ rokati kāla-t t-iyalum.* (ibid. 415.)
5. *Paṇṇattiy vaṭṭi u-aṭṭiṅ cuvai-y-iṅ-eṟṟu*  
*Aṇṇa pīraṇu m-aṭaṅ-kuṇa nutali*  
*Iṇṇa t-iṭu-v-eṇṇa varān m-iyarṅkai*  
*Eṇṇa kiṭṭiṇṇu paṇṇu rokai-y-ē.* (ibid. 416.)

the second a noun which has that quality as *karuñ-kutirai* (black horse). This also corresponds to a part of *viśeṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya*. *Ummai-t-toḥai*<sup>1</sup> is that in which each has two or more members, the members being connected with one another by 'and' and denoting persons, measures, numbers, weights etc., as *ṭuli-viṭ-keṇṭai* (tiger, bow and *keṇṭai* fish) etc. It corresponds to *dvandva* in Sanskrit. *Aṇmoli-t-toḥai*<sup>2</sup> is the possessive compound, the members of which may stand to each other in any of the three relations—quality-noun relation, conjunctive relation, and case-relation. It corresponds to *bahuvrīhi* in Sanskrit.

It may be noted here that the number of compounds in Tamil agree with that of primary compounds in Sanskrit and the names given to them in Tamil are more suggestive of their function than those in Sanskrit. These compounds are treated in syntax as though they are single words.<sup>3</sup>

The above classification of Tolkāppiyāṇār is fairly exhaustive; but such compounds as *karu-niṇam*, *cārai-p-pāmpā*, where both the members are either qualities or names which denote the genus and species of the same object, are not taken into account; but Cēṇāvaraiyar explains in his commentary on the same sūtra that they too are *paṇṇi-t-toḥai*, on the strength of the expression *eṇṇa-kīḷaviyam*, which means 'similar words', in the sūtra.

All the later grammarians, except the authors of the *Viracōḷiyam* and the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, i. e., the authors of the *Nēminātam*, the *Naṇṇūl*, the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and the *Ilakkaṇak-kottū* agree, as regards the classification of compounds, with

1. *Iru-peyar pala-peya r-aḷaviṇ peyarē*  
*Eṇ-u-iyar peyarē niṇai-p-peyar-k kīḷavi*  
*Eṇ-u-iṇ peyarē t-a-u-u-aru kīḷaviyum*  
*Kaṇṇiya mīlāittē y-ummai-t toḥai-y-ē.* (ibid. 417.)
2. *Paṇṇu toḥa-varāṇi kīḷavi y-aṇṇu*  
*Ummai tokka peyar-vayī p-aṇṇu*  
*Vērrumai tokka peyar-vayī n-aṇṇu*  
*Iṇṇu-niṇ riyalu m-aṇmoli-t toḥai-y-ē.* (ibid. 418.)
3. *Ellā-t toḥai-y-u m-aru-coṇ paṭaiya.* (ibid. 420.)

Tolkāppiyagār. And Naṅṅūlār tries to improve upon Tolkāppiyagār as regards the definition of paṇṇu-t-tokai<sup>1</sup> so that it may apply to compounds like *karu-nīṇam*, *cārai-p-pāmpā* etc.

But the author of the *Viracōliyam* saw that a large number of Sanskrit compounds like *anīti*, *anittiyam* etc., were freely used in Tamil and they, along with some Tamil compounds like *karu-nīṇam*, *paṇṇiru-toṭi*, *tey-kīlakku*, could not be directly explained with the rules on compounds stated by Tolkāppiyagār. Hence he began to classify them exactly in the same way as is done in Sanskrit; *taṭpuruṣaḥ* (tatpuruṣa), *phala-nel* (bahuvrīhi), *kaṇṇatārayam* (kaṇṇadhāraya), *tuviṇu* (dvigu), *tuvantuvam* (dvandva) and *avvayapāva* (avyayibhāva).<sup>2</sup> Some may say that he might have left out *avvayapāva* since examples for it are very rare; it is true, but such words as *yatākkīramana*, the tadbhava of Skt. *yathākrama*, are sometimes found and they have to be explained.

The most important point to be noted in the *Viracōliyam*, as also in the *Pirayōkavivēkaṁ* whose author closely follows that of the *Viracōliyam* with some difference here and there, is that most of the stanzas found in the chapter dealing with compounds (*tokai-p-paṭalanam*), in both are exactly the translation of the *kārikās* on *saṁśāsa* assigned to the authorship of Vararuci in Sanskrit. They are as follows:—

- (1) *Ṣoḍhā saṁśāsā saṅkṣēpāt ēkatrinīśadvidhāḥ pūnah |*  
*Tatṛṣṭadadhā tatpuruṣaḥ sapṭadadhā karma-dhārayaḥ ||*  
*Sapṭadadhā ca bahuvrīhiḥ dvigur-ābhāṣitā dvidhā |*  
*Dvandvaścatuṣ-vadhā jñēyāvyayibhāvaśtridhā mataḥ ||*  
 (Var. Kār.)

*Taṭpuruṣaṇ-phaṇa neṭ-kaṇṇa tūrayaṇ tōṅkiya-ār*  
*Naṭ-ṭuviku-t-tokai nūvūr-tuvantuvā nalla-teyva-c*

1. *Paṇṇai viḷakkum moṭi-toḷ kaṇṇam*  
*Oṇu-poruṭku iru-peyar vantaṇṇu kuṇa-t-tokai.*  
 (Na. 365).

2. V. T. 2.  
 27

*Coṭ-payan-māntarha l-avviya-pāva m-ilēyru-toṭmai*  
*Kaṭpakam-ā-p-pakam tār-tokai-y-ūṭuṇ kaṇaṅkuḷaiyē,*

(V. T. 2.)

*Taṭpuruṭay-ṭuvi ku-p-pala neṭ-karma tārayaṇōṭṭi*  
*Urpaia vāṇeṭṭuṇ kaṭ-pacun tē-moli y-onṭoṭiyūy*  
*Coṭ-payi l-avvi yayipāva m-ēṇai-t tavanṭay-eyā-k*  
*Kaṭpavar kūṇuṇ camṭeay-kā lē-tokai-k kaṭṭaṭai-y-ē.*

(P. V. 20.)

- (2) *Taṭpuruṭō' ṭṭa-vidhō' bhūl prathamādi-vibhakti-nañ-*  
*ḱṛtāir-bhēdāiḥ |*

*Sa cōikavadbhāsyānēkavadbhāṣitī dvividhā dviguḥ ||*

(Var. Kār.)

*Elavāy-mutal-ēlu vēṇṇumaiyōṭu m-ēluntaṭaiyil*  
*Valuvālanāñṇaṭeṭ t-ān-taṭpuruṭay vaḷar-tuviku*  
*Taluvārnta-veṇṇmoli muniyāy-vāruṇ taṭṭila-p-poruṇ-mēl*  
*Kuḷuvār-orumaiy-oṭ p-p-p-ayumaiy-oṭp-p-k kuṭi-y-iraṇṭē-*

(V. T. 3.)

*Taṭpuru ṭa-t-tokai vēṇṇumai y-eṭṭayṇṭ cārnta nañṇu-c*  
*Coṭ-poru l-aymai maṭai-y-iṇmai kūṭṭuṇ tokai-t-tuviku*  
*Muṭpala m-eṇ-piṭ palan-lallitārnta muṭittumēḷṇum*  
*Paṭpala v-ēkavar pāvi-y-ā nēkavar pāvi-y-eṇṭē.* (P. V. 21.)

- (3) *Saṭtabhirākhyābhīr-vā vikhyātō yassavāḥ bahuvrīhiḥ |*

*Dvābhīyām padābhīyām bahubhiḥ padāir vā*

*Saṅkhyābhīdhāyyantyaṭadanī dvayam vā |*

*Yasyābhavatpārvaṭpadē sahaśca*

*Diganṭarōla-ṭyāṭihēralakṣmāḥ |*

(Var. Kār.)

*Irumoli-paymoli piṇmoli y-eṇṇōṭ-irumoli-y-eṇ*  
*Maruvum-viliyā r-ilakkaṇamaṭṭai-c caka-muniy-moli*  
*Paravum-tikantārā ṭa-t-tokai-y-aṇṇa-p palanēyṇṇekai*  
*Viriyum-ōr-ēl-avai vēṇṇu-moli-p poruṇ-mel-t-iyalē.*

(V. T. 4.)

*Irumoli paṇ-moli piṇ-moli y-eṇṇō ṭ-irumoli-y-eṇ*  
*Ṭaru-moli y-oṇṇoli tikkan tarāḷaṇ caka-muniyṇkum*  
*Oru-moli y-ēṇai-vilē kōra-lakkaṇattōṭu varum*  
*Pera-moli y-ūki-veku viriyay moli-p-pē r-aḷaṇṭē.*

(P. V. 24.)

- (4) *Kavibhissapla-vidhassyaḍḍityēvaṃ karma-dhārayaḥ*  
*kathitāḥ |*  
*Viśeṣaṇam pūrva-padē viśeṣyam laikhōbhayaṭrāpi*  
*viśeṣaṇam ca*  
*Yasyōpamānam paratas-laddādān sambhāvanā cā-*  
*pyavadhāraṇā ca || (Var. Kār.)*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-p-ṣaṇṇu m-iru-moḷi-p-ṣaṇṇu m-oḷintamaṇṭa*  
*Piṇ-moḷi-y-oṣṣoṇu muṇ-moḷi-y-oṣṣuṇu piṇakkon-rilā*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-naṭ-karut tam-muṇ-moḷi-naṭṭuṇṭuṇ-m-ena*  
*Naṇ-moḷi-y-ār-kaṇṇa lārayam-āṇṇa nāḷḷiyarē. (V.T. 5.)*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-p ṣaṇṇiru ṣaṇṇu vicēṭṭiya muṇ-moḷi-taṇ*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-t tuḷḷyam piṇ-moḷi-t tuḷḷiya moy-kaḷalāy*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-c caṃpā vaṇai-y-ava lāraṇa muṇṭṭuṇ-m-ivai*  
*Naṇ-moḷi-p ṣaṇṇu-t tokai-k kaṇṇa lārayaṇaṭṭamillkē.*  
*(P. V. 22.)*

Here the author of the *Viracōliyam* omitted the class where the noun qualified by the adjective stands as the first member of the compound (*viśēṣya-pūrvapadaḥ*) since, perhaps, it was difficult to him to find an example for it in Tamil language; and hence he stated that *kaṇmatārayam* is of 6 kinds, instead of 7 as found in Sanskrit. But the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* has included it also and gives *Teyra-p-pulavan-riruvalluvay* as an example for it.

- (5) *Yutrāryayam pūrva-padam yathā vā  
 Subantamūhō dvilayam subantam |  
 Pūrvō'pi mukhyō bahuvrīh padārthah  
 Talhāvayāibhāvam āśrayanti||  
 Sa hi drandvāścatuṛdhāṣyāt budhāir-iti viniścitaḥ |  
 Itarētarayōgābhyaḥ samāhārābhāṣyas tathā. || (Var. Kār.)*  
*¹Muṇ-moḷi-y-atvīyāḥ-cēḥ lokai pēr-muṇ moḷi-t-lokaiyē  
 Coṇ-moḷi-y-atvīya pūvam-aruvum iuvantuvamum  
 Vay-moḷi-y-ām-ita rētarām-zāynta camā-kāram-ām  
 Nan-moḷi-y-āṇ-vraīṭ tārkaḥ-camāca nāy-mutalē. (V. T. 6.)*

1. He has not mentioned that class of *avyayibhāva* where the members are nouns, as *madhyē'gāram* since such words have not been taken into Tamil language.

*Muṇ-moḷi-p pēr-c-co l-iṭai-c-co l-irantu muraṇi-miṇkam*  
*Tay moḷi y-avvi yayiṭṭāva m-ummai-c cakṛatṭilē*  
*Iṅ-moḷi-t tonḷay<sup>1</sup> camākūrāl lōṭṭa rēlarāmām*  
*An-moḷi-t lōṭṭamūñ camuccayal lōṭu-maṇ vācayamē.*

(P. V. 23.)

- (6) *Tatpuruṣō' aṣṭa-vidhō' bhūt.....[*  
*Uttara-pada-janītārthaḥ prāyō mukhyaḥ.....]*  
*.....dviguḥ]*  
*Aśyāpi paṇḍitair-antar-bhāvas tatpuruṣō mataḥ ]]*  
*.....karmadhārayaḥ kathitaḥ ]*  
*Tatpuruṣāntarbhāvāt tadvat*  
*Prādhānyam īritam cāśya ]]*  
*Prādhānyam prāyaśō' smṛta*  
*Ubhayaś syāt padārthayoḥ ]*  
*Sa hi dvandvaḥ.....]*  
*Tatparaṇṭay-ṇi kṛ-k-karma tāṇṇay-ṇi mūḷaṇṇmai*  
*Piṇṇaṇṇ m-ām-eḷu vūy-ā m-ovū-t-lokai pēy-ṇi-aṇṇkē*  
*Muṇṇaṇṇ m-avvi yayiṭṭāva m-oppu-muṇṇai piṇṇaṇṇ*  
*Coṇ-ṇaṇṇ tokkavai y-ellā mūḷaṇṇmai tuvaṇṇaṇṇkē.*

(P. V. 25.)

The statement 'avyayībhāva-moppu-muṇṇai piṇṇaṇṇ' which means that the relative importance of the first or second member in *avyayībhāva* and *upamītasamāsa* will change, is made on the strength of the words *prāyō* and *bahusāḥ* in *uttara-pada-janītārthaḥ prāyō mukhyaḥ* and *pūrvō'pi mukhyō bahusāḥ padārthaḥ* respectively. The author of the *Viracōliyaṇ*, having dealt with this classification of compounds in 5 stanzas, mentions also the classification made by *Tolkāppiyaṇār* as the opinion of a class of Tamilians.

The only point of difference between these two kinds of classification is only with respect to *avyayībhāva* and *nañtatpuruṣa*, since other *tatpuruṣas*, *dvandva* and *bahuvrīhi* are identically the same as *vēṇṇumaittokai*, *ummaittokai* and *aṇṇmōḷittokai*, though with different names, and *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu* may some-

1. cf. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣit's vṛtti on 'cārthē dvandvaḥ'—  
 'samuccaya-avvācaya-itarētarayōga-samāhārāḥ cārthāḥ.



how or other be brought under *uvamattokai*, *viṅaittokai* and *paṇṇattokai*.

4.23. Here I want to deal further with the difference of opinion among the commentators of Tolkāppiyam and Naṇṇūlār regarding *viṅai-t-tokai* and *paṇṇu-t-tokai* and whether the expression *nīlēṇ kaṇantūṅ* is a *tokai* or not.

4.231. As regards *viṅaittokai*, Ṭampūraṇar, Teyvaccanaiyār and Nacciṇārkkiniyār think, that when a present, past, or future, participle like *kollum* or *konṇa* is compounded with a noun like *yāṇai*, the participial suffix is dropped and they become *kol-yāṇai*. Hence the word *kol-yāṇai* means 'elephant that kills, that killed or that will kill'. But Cēṇāvaraiyar is of opinion that *kol-yāṇai* is compounded of the root *kol* with *yāṇai* and it cannot be dissolved into *konṇa yāṇai*, *kollukiṇṇa* or *kollum yāṇai*. The interpretation of the latter seems to be unsound, since Tolkāppiyaṇār in his sūtra says that *viṅaittokai* shows time.<sup>1</sup> The reasons adduced by him in support of his statement do not seem to be sound. He has done so, since perhaps he took the expressions like *kol-yāṇai* as a case of *nīyasamāsa* like the word *kumbha-kāra* mentioned by Dharmakīrti in Vol. I, p. 181 of his Rūpavā-tāra. But it seems to me that it is against the views of Tolkāppiyaṇār. Naṇṇūlār agrees with Ṭampūraṇar, while the author of the Ṭakkaṇaviṭakkam agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar and repeats his arguments. (I. V. 338, Comm.)

4.232. As regards *paṇṇu-t-tokai*, Cēṇāvaraiyar thinks that the words like *karuṇakutirai* cannot be dissolved into *kariyatū ākiya kutirai* in the same way as in *viṅai-t-tokai* perhaps for the same reason. This too is against the views of Tolkāppiyaṇār since, in the sūtra, he says '*viṅai-t-tokai* du *aya*' (Tol. Col. 416). Naṇṇūlār seems to think that *karuṇai + kutirai* becomes *karuṇakutirai*,<sup>2</sup> while Tolkāppiyaṇār thinks that *kariyatū + kutirai* becomes so. Naṇṇūlār's view does not seem to be sound since the

1. *Viṅaiyū rokuti kēlet t-iyalum*. (Tol. Col. 415.)

2. *Paṇṇai viṭakkam moḷi-toḷ kaṇavum*

*Oru-poruṭṭu iruṭeyar vāntavum kuṇa-t-tokai*. (Na. 365.)

expression '*karumai ākiya kutirai*' cannot convey any sense since *karumai* and *kutirai* cannot be appositional, *karumai* denoting quality and *kutirai* denoting object. The author of the *Ilakkaṇa-vilakkam* agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar (l. V. 339, *Comin.*).

4.233. IS '*NILAN KAṬANTĀN*' WHICH MEANS '*HE CROSSED THE GROUND*', A COMPOUND OR NOT? All commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*, except Cēṇāvaraiyar and his followers think that *nilan kaṭantān*, when it means "he crossed the ground," is not a compound, but a sentence consisting of two words *nilam* and *kaṭantān* where *nilam* is the object of the verb *kaṭantān* and it has its suffix dropped according to Tol. Col. 103. When it means "one who has crossed the ground," evidently it is a compound. But Cēṇāvaraiyar is very obstinate in considering it a compound.<sup>1</sup> The reason he adduces in support of his opinion is that in Tol. E. 133, *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has stated that a noun which has its case-suffix dropped is combined with the following verb so as to form a compound. *Ḥampūraṇar* gives a different interpretation to the same. The lines under consideration are

*Peyarum toḷilum pīrintoruṅku icaip̄pa*  
*Vēṇṇumai y-urup̄u nilaip̄eru valiyum*  
*Tōṇṇam vēṇṇā-t tokutī-k kaṇṇum...*

The literal translation of these is as follows :—Noun and verb used separately or together, either with the case suffix of the noun expressed or dropped. *Ḥampūraṇar* interprets these lines thus :—*Peyarum toḷilum vēṇṇumai yurup̄u nilaip̄eru valiyum, tōṇṇam vēṇṇāl tokutik kaṇṇum pīrinticaip̄pa*, and *peyarum toḷilum vēṇṇumai yurup̄u nilai p̄eru valiyum tōṇṇam vēṇṇāl tokutik kaṇṇum eruṅkicaip̄pa*, which may be translated thus :—When a noun with, or without, a case-suffix is followed by a verb and is treated as a separate word and when a noun with, or without, a case-

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1. *Nilan-kaṭantān, kuṇṇattiruntān eṇa-p-peyarum vinaiyun tokkāṇa oru-coṇṇṇirmai-y-ila-v-ākalig tokai-y-eṇaṇṇāṇā v-eṇ-pārum-aḷar...vēṇṇumai-y-urup̄ir toka-p-peyarum toḷilum eruṅkicaip̄pa aciriyar nēṇṇāl-ākalig, avai tokai-y-ēṇavē paṭum.* (Tol. Col. 420, Cēṇā.)

suffix is followed by a verbal noun and is treated as a part of a compound of which the verbal noun forms the second part—According to his interpretation, *nilattai-k kaṭantāy* and *nilaṅ kaṭantāy* are each *two separate words* when *kaṭantāy* is a *finite verb*, and *nilattai-k-kaṭantāy* and *nilaṅ-kaṭantāy* are *COMPOUND WORDS* when *kaṭantāy* is a *participial noun*.

Cēṇāvaraiyar interprets the same sūtra thus:—*peyarum toḷinum vēṇṇamai y-urupu nilai peru valiyum pīrinticaiṇṇa, peyarum toḷinum tōṇṇam vēṇṇā-l tokuti-k kaṇṇum oruṅkicaiṇṇa*, which may be translated thus:—when a noun with a case-suffix is separate from the verb which it follows, and when without case-suffix, it is treated as a part of the compound—(i.e.) He takes 'pīrintū' with the second line of the sūtra and 'oruṅkū' with the third line unlike Ḥampūraṇar who takes both the second and third lines with both *pīrintū* and *oruṅkū*. Besides, Cēṇāvaraiyar seems to think that the word *tokuti* in the third line means compound, since the same word in the sūtra '*Viṇai-y-iṇ rokuti kālat tiyalaṇṇu*' (Tol. Col. 415) has that meaning. But the author has not used that word in that sense alone in the whole of his work. For he has used also in the sense of *number* according to Cēṇāvaraiyar and *collection* according to Ḥampūraṇar in the sūtra,

*ṇṇaṭṭeṇa aṇinta viṇai-mutar kiḷavikkū*

*Viṇai-p-ṇaṭu tokuti-y-iṇ-ṇṇamai vēṇṇam* (Tol. Col. 33).

It is a wonder to me why Cēṇāvaraiyar says so in spite of the fact that he is a sound Sanskrit scholar. What is the use of taking *nilaṅ kaṭantāy*, *yāṇ kaṭantāy*, *ārkaṭantāy*, etc., to be compounds when one can very easily take them as separate words?

From the points mentioned above, it may be clear that the interpretation of *tokai* as ellipsis mentioned by Dr. Pope in page xvii of the Introduction in Pope's edition of Tirukkuraḷ is not sound.

## 5. SYNTAX.

5. 1. *INTRODUCTION*: From the arrangement of the sections in *Collatikāram*, *Tolkāppiyāṇār* seems to have recognised that the unit of speech is a sentence. In the first section, *kiṇṇiyāḱkam*, he says in the first eleven sūtras that the ending of the predicate must agree in gender, number and person with that indicated by the subject, and in the succeeding sūtras, he deals with the order of words in a sentence, the use of particular words in a context, etc. In the second section, the case-suffixes and their function are dealt with, since the former are necessarily found after nouns in a sentence. In the third section is mentioned the overlapping of case-functions and in the fourth, the vocative case. It is only at the beginning of the fifth section, *peyar-iyai*, *Tolkāppiyāṇār* defines *col* or word which forms a part of a sentence and classifies it primarily into two, noun and verb, and secondarily into four—noun, verb, *ṣṭaicol* and *uricol*. In the remaining portion of the fifth section, he deals with nouns; the sixth, seventh and eighth sections respectively deal with verbs, *ṣṭaicol* and *uricol* and the ninth and last, with miscellaneous topics like compounds, etc.

5. 2. *ORDER OF WORDS*: The normal order of words in a Tamil sentence is this:—The subject begins the sentence and the predicate ends it. (e.g.) *vāḷ zalanṭara maṇuppaḷṭaya* (The sword was stained after giving victory) (P. N. 4. 1); the predicate may be used at the beginning of the sentence when it is emphasised. (e.g.) *kaṇṭaney kaṇṇuḱkaṇṇiyai-k-kaṇṇaḷḍi* (saw I with eyes the ornament of chastity) (Kampar. C. Tiruvaṭi. 58.) As regards the cases, the sixth case must invariably precede the noun which it qualifies. (e.g.) *ālai-zāy-k-kaṇṇuppiṇ tēyūm* (the sweet boiled juice of the sugarcane at the mill), (Kampar. B. 469,) the second case generally precedes the verb, but the third and the fourth cases also intervene between them. (e.g.) *talaiyai vaṇṇaḱki* (bowing the head) (Cilap. 490, 33); *iṇṇuḱṇi kaiyāl tiruḱi* (twirling the left breast with hand) (Cilap. 421, 43); *vaṇṭa naṇṇiyai muntai . . . nāyṇarai muṇṇiḱṇuḱ kōḷṇi* (having shown his brother to the sage learned

in the four *vēdas*) (Kampan, B. 233, 17). When certain things are enumerated first and their total number is indicated by an enumerative word, such a word should be followed by *um*. (e.g.) *muracu-maḷaiṇku lōnai nāṭṭarun kūḷi*. (all the three having assembled with their armies beating drums) (Pattu. 61, 54). The past, present, and future, participle invariably precede the noun which they qualify. (e.g.) *nūti-maḷinūkiya veḷḷōḷḷay* (with the white tusk whose end was blunted) (P. N. 4, 11). The nouns in apposition which denote the titles of persons generally precede the name of the person. (e.g.) *Teyraḷḷupulavaṇ Tiruvallūṇay*.<sup>1</sup> If nouns and pronouns are used in the same sentence denoting the same person, the pronoun is generally used after the noun. (e.g.) *Cāṭṭay aṇay vāntāy*, but the order may be inverted in poetry. (e.g.) *aṇay . . . cāṇṭay pēr vāḷḷi* (having blessed Cāṇṭay) (Tol. Col. 32, Cēṇā).

5. 3. **NUMBER**: Singular nouns with a collective sense take the singular verb.—(e.g.) *raiyaṭṭa ālakam* (the world will not despise) (K. 117); plural forms are sometimes used as honorific singulars.—(e.g.) *yām ēttukam paḷavē* (I praise in many ways) (P. N. 10, 13); plural forms of verbs are sometimes used along with the singular nouns and vice-versa.—(e.g.) *aṇā ceytāmō aṇaḷveyyōy* (P. N. 145, 7), *yāvō yām kāṇkū* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 497, 22). Sometimes the plural forms of verbs are mixed with the singular forms. (e.g.) *uṇkum entai nūy kāṇku vānticūy* (P. N. 125, 4). Sometimes two or more singular nouns connected by the particle *um* take a singular verb after them. (e.g.) *māḷavar nāṇḷum maḷavār kaṇḷum kāvalay kāval iṇṇū* (the celibacy and the chastity of holy women is not under guard) (E. M. 252, 208 and 209). *Oruṇar* is the common form to denote either one man or one woman. (e.g.) *oruṇarai-y-oruṇar toḷarūṇār* (one followed another) (Kampan, C. Kīṇkarar, 25). In case when one is not able to ascertain whether the person standing before him is a male or a female, the plural verb should be used. (e.g.) *āṇṇakay kolḷō penḷāṭṭi kolḷō āṇḷō tōṇṇavār* (is it man or woman that

1. *Cirappi n-āhiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavikkum*  
*Iyar-peyar-k kiḷavi murpaḷa-k kiḷavār*. (Tol. Col. 41.)

appears there).<sup>1</sup> The plural interrogative pronoun *yār* is used after singular nouns if the former is used as a logical predicate. (e.g.) *ivan yār enkuvaṭṭyāyir* (if you ask who this man is) (P. N. 13.1).<sup>2</sup> Sometimes plural nouns are in apposition with singular nouns. (e.g.) *ēval ilaiyar tūy vayiru karippa* (Tol. Col. 461. Cēṇā.)

5. 4. *TINAI*: Sometimes *aṅṅai* nouns are used as *nyartṭai* nouns and *vice versa* out of affection (e.g.) *eṇ tantai vantaṇ* (with reference to a calf), *eṇ āṇai vantaṭu* (with reference to a son). Similarly *aṅṅai* nouns are used as *nyartṭai* and *vice versa* to denote superiority. (e.g.) *centār-p-pacmūkiyār* (C. C. 1036.), *maṇṇaṇ nyūrttē malar talai-y-ulakam* (P. N. 186. 2).

5. 5. *CONCORD*: The finite verb agrees with its subject in gender, number and person as is generally found in Sanskrit. If two or more subjects of different persons are used, the plural verb of the first person is used if the subjects are of the first person, and either of the second or third persons or both, as *yāṇum niyūm pōṇḍuṁ*, *yāṇum aṇaṇum pōṇḍuṁ* or *yāṇum, niyūm aṇaṇum pōṇḍuṁ*, and the plural verb of the second person is used if the subjects are of the second and third persons, as *niyūm aṇaṇum pōṇḍār*. In respect of these two points there is similarity between Sanskrit and Tamil.<sup>3</sup> If the subject is made up of a *nyartṭai* noun and an *aṅṅai* noun, the verb that follows is in *nyartṭai*. (e.g.) *Ponṇaṇum kutiraiyūm vantaṭkaḷ* (Ponṇaṇ and his horse came) (Colloq.).

5. 6. *PRONOUNS*: Sometimes the word *ivan* is used to denote the first person singular. (e.g.) *kāṅkivan kaṭumpiṇa-liṭṭupai* (P. N. 173.2). This is probably due to the desire of the speaker to address himself in the third person. The form *ivan* is used, but not *avan*, since he is the nearest third person to himself.

1. *Pāṇ-mayak kuṇṇa v-aiya-k kiḷavi*

*Tāṇ-ari parul-vayir paṇmai kārāḷ*. (Tol. Col. 23.)

2. If *yāṇ* is abbreviated into *yā* as *yāṇar* into *yār*, its form would have been the same as the singular of the first personal pronoun *yā* and hence *yār* may have been used in all genders and numbers to avoid confusion.

3. Cf. M. V. G. p. 290, S. 3.

This is perhaps the reason why *iñkū* is used in the sense of *caṇṭattil* in Jaffna. Similar usage is found in the Cilappatikāram. (e.g.) *Parakati-y-ilakkum paṇṇu iñkū illai* (Cilap. 395, 85).

The reflexive pronouns *tāy*, *tām* and *tāñkaḷ* are used in place of second person singular, *tañkaḷ* when the person spoken to is a very great man, *tām* when he is great, and *tāy* when he is almost equal to the speaker in status. It is a peculiarity in colloquial speech that they are followed by a verb in the neuter singular. (e.g.) *tāñkaḷ eppōlu vantaṭū; tām eppōlu vantaṭū; tāy eppōlu vantaṭū*. *Tām* and *tāñkaḷ* are also followed by second person plurals of the form *vantū* and *vantūrkaḷ* respectively. Sometimes *nām* is used instead of the second person honorific singular. (e.g.) *nammai orukāl kāṭṭivanṭāl* (P. T. 92. 1), *nerumal naṇṭavazavō nām* (Kampar. Āra. 238. 119). Such a usage is found in colloquial speech also. Similarly *atu* is also used in colloquial speech. (e.g.) *atu eyya collukkiṭaṭū*. Besides it may be interesting to note that the word *iṇṇiṭattil* which is the seventh case of *iṇṇiṭam* is used in the same sense. (e.g.) *iṇṇiṭattil eṇṇāru niṇṇikkīṇṇaṭū* (how do you think?). The form *eṇṇā* is used as a logical predicate after a neuter singular subject. (e.g.) *iccoṇṇu-p-poruḷ eṇṇā*<sup>1</sup> (what is the meaning of this word ?)

5. 7. CASES AND CASE-SUFFIXES: The cases from the first to the eighth are generally used in Tamil as in Sanskrit conveying the same sense, i.e., the first case denoting the subject, the second the object,<sup>2</sup> the third the instrument, object in association or the doer, the fourth the recipient, the fifth the limit, comparison and cause, the sixth the ownership, and the seventh the time and the place of action. But we have many cases where one case form is used for another, i. e., where functional syncretism plays its part.

1. *Yāteva g-ṇṇu m-āyiru kiḷavi-y-um*

*Ariyā-p-poruḷ-vayir ceṇṇiṭ-tōṇṇum*. (Tol. Col. 31.)

2. Following point may be noted here. Tolkāppiyāṇār does not state in Tol. Col. 71 that the second case denotes the object, but says that it is used with verbs. Since he says in Tol. Col. 112 that the subject, object, instrument, etc., are necessary for an action

The *third*, the *fourth*, the *fifth*, and the *seventh*, case are sometimes used in place of the *second*. (e.g.) *vāṅāl nōkki vāḷum*<sup>1</sup>; *ipaṭṭu-k-kollum nvaṇi*<sup>2</sup>; *paḷiyiṇ aṇṇm*<sup>3</sup>; *aracarkaḷ cārntāṇ*, *kōḷḷiṇkaḷ kuraittāṇ*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

The *fourth* and *fifth* cases are sometimes used in place of the *third*. (e.g.) *avarṅu-c-cēyya-t-takum iḱkāriyam*<sup>5</sup>; *vaṇikattiṇ āyiyāṇ*<sup>6</sup>, *aṇṇiṇ āṭṭutum* (Kampar. B. 25, 3). The *sixth* case is

to be produced and he directly mentions the meanings of all the cases other than the second in the sūtras dealing with the other cases and the object is left out, we are made to infer that the second case denotes the object. The authors of the *Nēminātam* and the *Naṇṇūl* also have not definitely stated it. (N. N. Col. 17 and Na. 296.) It is the author of the *Ilakkanaṇṇiḱkkaṁ* who has mentioned it. (I. V. 199.)

1. *Iranṭaṇ maruṇki pōḱka pōḱkam-a-v*  
*V-iranṭaṇ maruṇki ṇ-ētu-v-u m-āḱum*. (Tal. Col. 93.)
2. *Itaṇa titu-v-iṇ rēṇṇuṇ kiḷaviyūṁ*  
*Ataṇai-k kollum poruḷ-vayi ṇ-āḱum*. (ibid. 110.)
3. *Acca-k kiḷaviḱ k-aintu m-iranṭam*  
*Ecca m-ilavē poruḷ-vayi ṇ-āḱa*. (ibid. 100.)
4. *Karuma m-allā-c cārpeṇ kiḷavikkū*  
*Urimaiyu m-utaittē kaṇṇeṇ vērrumai*. (ibid. 84.)  
*Cigai-nilai-k kiḷaviḱ k-aiyuṇ kaṇ-ṇ-uṁ*  
*Vigai-nilai-y-akku m-eṇṇaṇār pulavar*. (ibid. 85.)  
*Kaṇṇal celavu m-eyṇṇaṇār vigaiyē*. (ibid. 86.)  
*Mutaṇ-cigai-k kiḷavi-k k-atu-v-eṇ vērrumai*  
*Mutaṇ-kaṇ variyē cigai-k-k-ai varumē*. (ibid. 87.)  
*Mutaṇ-mu ṇ-ai-variṇ kaṇ-ṇ-eṇ vērrumai*  
*Cigai-muṇ varuta reḷḷi teṇṇa*. (ibid. 88.)  
*Mutalaṇ cigaiyūṁ poruḷ-vēṇ paṭṭa*  
*Nuvaluṇ kālai-c coṭ-kurip piṇavē*. (ibid. 89.)
5. *Itaṇa titu-v-iṇ r-ēṇṇuṇ kiḷaviyūṁ*  
*Ataṇār ceyar-paṭar k-otta kiḷaviyūṁ*. (ibid. 110.)
6. *Māṇṇaṇ m-aintaṇ tōṇṇa-k kārṇiya*  
*Āḱkam-aṭu puṇarnta v-ētu-k kiḷavi*  
*Nōḱkō r-aṇaiya v-eṇṇaṇār pulavar*. (ibid. 92.)



sometimes used for the *fourth*. (e.g.) *nākaratu pati*.<sup>1</sup>

The *fourth* case and the *second* case are sometimes used for the *fifth*. (e.g.) *cāttarku neṭṭiyaṇ*<sup>2</sup>; *niṇai-p-pāṇai mūṅkuṁ tiru* (K. 519). The *seventh* case is sometimes used for the *sixth*. (e.g.) *kōṭṭintan yāṇai*.<sup>3</sup>

The *third* and *fourth* cases are sometimes used for the *seventh* (e.g.) *iyamarō ivvulakattāṇē* (P. N. 74. 3); *nālvarkku maṭṭuvil aṇṇinil vērrumai māṇṇināl* (Kampar. A. 216. 5).

Another point to be noted is that *all nouns without any case-suffix* may be used if they *precede* the verbs that they qualify; but *only the suffix* of the *second* case and the *seventh* case may be dropped if the noun *follows* the verb. (e.g.) *uṇkunam peruma nī naṭkiya vaḷayē* (P.N. 136. 27); *kaṇṭaney varuvai ... kōṭē* (P. N. 23. 22).

The order of cases and their meanings are quite similar to what is found in Pāṇini's grammar. The parallelism between 'mūṇṇākuratē . . . viṇaimutal karuvī y-ṇai mutarṇṇatuvē (Tol. Col. 73) 'and' *karṭṭharaṇayōs tṛṭiyō* (P. 2. 3. 18)' is quite striking.

5. 71. As regards the *third* case and its suffixes there are a few points to be considered:—(1) The suffix that is mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār for the *third* case is *oṭu*;<sup>4</sup> but he mentions *ōy* in the *sūtra ku-ai ōy-eyā varū m-iṇṇi* . . . (Tol. Col. 108) but does not state there that 'ōy' is the suffix of the *third* case. From the literature of the Sangam period it is determined as the *third* case suffix, since it is used instead of *oṭu*. (e. g.) *tūṇku kaiyō y-ōṇku naṭaiya* (P.N. 22. 1). The later grammarians have taken it and its modified form *āl* as *third* case suffixes.

(2) The suffix *oṭu* in Tamil, when it denoted association, was

1. Ku-t-toka varṇu koṭai-y-ettir kiḷavi  
A-p-porū [-āṇar kurittu m-ākuṁ. (Tol. Col. 99.)
2. Itana litu-v-iṇ renṇuṇ kiḷavaiyūṁ  
Pāl-varai kiḷavaiyūṁ poṇṇi y-āḷḷamūṁ. (ibid. 110.)
3. Arap maruṇṇēy vaḷcci-k kiḷamai-k-kū  
Ēḷu m-āku m-urāi-nīlat tōya. (ibid. 98.)
4. Māṇṇā kuvatē  
Oṭu-v-eyā-p peyariya vērrumai-k kiḷavi  
Viṇai-mutal karuvī y-ṇai-mutarṇṇatuvē. (ibid. 73.)

used after the word denoting the *more important object*.<sup>1</sup> (e. g. *tūnpuṭai-t-taṭakkai rāyoṭu tūmirtū* (P. N. 19. 10); *māṇṭa-v-aymayaiyyoṭu vaṭṭaku niramṭiyar* (P. N. 191. 3). Here it differs from Sanskrit where the third case suffix is used after the word denoting the *less important*. Cf. *śahayuktē apradhānē* (Pa. 2. 3. 19). Besides, the suffix *ai* is also used in Sangam works to denote *association*. But later on, i.e., before or after the time of Nannūlar, the suffix *oṭu* alone came to be restricted to denote *association*<sup>2</sup> and also it seems to have been used *after the noun denoting the less important*. (e.g.) *vanṭa nampiyait-tamṭi tanyoṭu . . . kāṭṭi* (Kampar. B. 233. 17); *kuḷayōṭu natikaḷ taṇ kuṭaikaḷ āravē* (Kampar. B. 164. 46).

5. 72. In this context the following statement of Dr. Caldwell deserves to be considered. "Dravidian Grammarians have arranged the case system of their nouns in the Sanskrit order, and in doing so have done violence to the genius of their own grammar. The Dravidian ablative of motion and the locative are evidently one and the same case, though represented as different by grammarians, in deference to Sanskrit precedents; and the Dravidian social ablative, as some have called it or rather as it should be termed, the conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian Languages has been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases, or added on to the instrumental case, simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from instrumental. The conjunctive or social stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none."<sup>3</sup>

This statement of Dr. Caldwell, so far as *Tamil* is concerned, is based on two points :—(1) Mention of *ai* as the suffix both of the fifth and the seventh cases by the author of the Nannūlar and the modern usage of *ai* before *kaṇ* of the seventh case as in

1. *Oru-viṇai y-oṭu-c-co l-uyar-piṇ vaṭṭitē*. (Tel. Col. 91.)
2. *Māṇṭa vaṭṭay-aru pāl-a y-ōṭoṭu*  
*Karuvī karuttē uṭayikaḷ vaṭṭay-poruḷ*. (Na. 297.)
3. C. D. G. 277 and 278.

*ārin* and (2) Dr. Caldwell's mistaking the third case suffix *oṭu* to denote only association. His statement would have been correct if the author of Nannūl or more correctly his commentators had arranged the cases.

But the arrangement of the cases was done not by Nannūlār or his commentators, but by Tolkāppiyānār and his predecessors. Tolkāppiyānār does not at all give 'il' as any case-suffix. He has stated that *iṭ* is the fifth case suffix and that it denotes the limit or comparison and *kaṇ* is the seventh case suffix denoting time and place of action. Besides, in his time and even in later times, *oṭu* was used not only to denote association, but also to denote instrument in the same way as the suffix *āl* or *āy*. For instance, the sentence *keṭṭiyoṭu iṭṭavkunṭāy* means 'he was punished with a creeper and not 'he was punished along with a creeper'. Tolkāppiyānār has first stated that the suffix *oṭu* denotes the doer of the action, the instrument and then only that it denotes the association also. Besides *āy* also was used to denote association, e.g., *iṭṭu-kaiyāy ōṭu nalaṭiya*. (P. N. 22-1.) Hence at the time of Tolkāppiyānār both *oṭu* and *āy* were used to denote instrument and association. The point why *oṭu* and *āy* were not treated as the suffixes of separate cases is fully discussed in Cēṅāvaraiyam, a commentary on Collatikāram of Tolkāppiyam under sūtra 74 of Collatikāram. Hence Dr. Caldwell's criticism on the arrangement of cases by Tamil grammarians cannot at all stand.

5. 73. The following parallelism may be seen in the use of cases between Tamil and Sanskrit:—

*The third case is used to denote cause:*

Tamil:

*nalvinaiyāl avanai-p-pōrilēṭi*<sup>1</sup>

Sanskrit:

*puṇyēna tam apaśyam*<sup>2</sup>

*The fourth case is used instead of gerund in Tamil and instead of the infinitive of purpose in Sanskrit.*

1. *Iṭṭāy eṭā*. (Tol. Col. 74.)

2. *Hētūn*. (P. A. 2.3.23.)

Tamil:	Sanskrit:
uṇṇavukku-c-cenṇāṇ for uṇṇa- c-cenṇāṇ <sup>1</sup>	bhōjanāya yāti for bhōktum yāti. <sup>2</sup>
tōṭṭukku-p-poy <sup>3</sup>	kunḍalāya svarṇam <sup>4</sup>

The fifth case is used to denote contrast:

Tamil:	Sanskrit:
ipay avayin ceyamūṭaiyaṇ	īṣaḥ tasmāt ōḍhyatarah <sup>5</sup>

There is a case of nominative absolute in Tamil with a noun in the nominative case followed by a gerund, e.g., *uṇṇantaṇar koṭuppa . . . nṭuvai porikkum āṇṇalai* (P. N. 33. 6 to 9). Here *koṭuttal* is the effect of his having been powerful. *maṭai peyya, kuḷam niraṇṇatū*. Here *peyṭal* is the cause of *niraṇṇatū*. Similarly, the form *ceyṇa* is used instead of *ceya* in the above cases.

Such nominative absolutes are absent in Sanskrit; and the genitive and locative absolutes found in Sanskrit are absent in Tamil.

The author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* mentions that '*pulli viṭṭaṇ pulaviyuṭ*' in '*pulliviṭṭaṇ-pulaviyuṭ iōṇṇuṇṇuṇ pulḷa mūṭaiṇṇuṇ paṭai*' is a case of locative absolute in P. V. p. 26. Since the form in Tamil has no similarity to that in Sanskrit, I do not agree with him. It may be taken only as a case of nominative absolute.

Cēṇāvaraiyar in his commentary under Tol. Col. 71 divides *ceyaṇṇapaṭuvuṭ* or object into three classes, viz., *iyaṇṇapaṭuvuṭ* or that which is newly made, *vēṇṇapaṭukkaṇ-paṭuvuṭ* or that which is transformed and *eyṭaṇṇapaṭuvuṭ* or that which is obtained or reached. This is possibly the translation of the following Kārikā in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadiya*:

*Nivartiyam ca vikāryam ca prāpyam ca trividham matam |  
Tatrēṣilalekham karma . . .*

(*Vākyapadiya*, 3rd Kāṇḍa, 45th Kārikā.)

1. *Atarṇu uṭamṇaṭūl*. (Tol. Col. 76.)
2. *Tumarthācca bhava vācanāt*. (P. A. 2.3.15.)
3. *Atuvāku kuṭavi*. (Tol. Col. 76.)
4. *Tādarthye caturthi vācyā*. (Vārtika.)
5. *Pañcamivibhaktē*. (P. A. 2.3.42.)

5. 8. *TENSES*: The *past* tense in Tamil is used for the *present* or the *future* to denote haste<sup>1</sup> or speed e.g., *iḷō vaniḷḷy* meaning 'I am coming' or 'I shall come soon'. Sometimes the *past* is used for the *present* to denote certainty e.g. *aṟintēy* for *aṟikirēy* (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 583. 7). Sometimes the *present* is used for the *future* as in Sanskrit<sup>2</sup> e.g., *Paratanē tūṅka mānuṭi cāḷukinṟōy* (Kampar, A. 216, 4.) and *āgacchāmi* for *āgamisyāmi*.<sup>3</sup> The *future* is used for the *past* and *vice versa*<sup>4</sup>, (e. g.) *malar micai-y-ḷḷiṇṇāy* (K. 3. Comm.)—here *ḷḷiṇṇāy* is used for *ḷḷuvāy*; *nīlaiyal cōvileṇṇa* (Tol. Col. 68)—here *eyṇa* is used for *eyṇaṇar*; *cellēy* for *cāvēy* (T. V. 3. 165).

5. 9. *PARTICIPLES*: 'Participles are of a two-fold nature in as much as they share the characteristics of both noun and verb.' In form they are adjectives in concord. They not only govern cases like the verb, but also indicate time and differences of voice. The purpose that is served by relative pronouns in Sanskrit is served by the participles in Tamil.—(e.g.) *kuṭattai-c-ceyā kuyavay vāntāy* corresponds to the Sanskrit sentence '*yaḥ ghaṭam akarūt saḥ āgataḥ*,' which means the potter who made the pot came. The use of participles past, present and future is generally similar to that of participles in Sanskrit, though, in form, they are declined in the latter and they are not declined in the former. The use of participles denoting cause as *Harim paṣyan mucyātē* (cf. *lakṣaṇahētpōḥ* (P. A. 3.1.126.) is not found in Tamil. The indeclinable past participle is used instead. (e.g.) *ariyai-p-pārttu vīṇa perrāy*.

- 
1. *Vāra-k kālattu nikaḷvū kālattuṁ*  
*Ōrāṅku varāṁ vīṇai-c-coṟ kiḷavi*  
*Iṟanta kālattu-k kuṟippoṭu kiḷattal*  
*Vīrainta poruḷa v-eṇ-maṇār pulavar.* (Tol. Col. 241.)
  2. *Vāra-k kālattu vīṇai-c-coṟ kiḷavi*  
*Iṟappiṇu nikaḷvīṇu cīṟappa-i tōṇṇuṁ*  
*Iyarkaiyṇ teḷṇu kiḷakkū kālai.* (Tol. Col. 245.)
  3. *Vartamāna sāmīpyē vartamānavadvā.* (P. A. 3.3.131.)
  4. *Iṟappē y-etirvē y-āyiru kālammū*  
*Cīṟappa-i tōṇṇu māyāṅku-moḷi-k kiḷavi.* (Tol. Col. 247.)

The indeclinable past participles of the forms *ceytā*, *ceyyā* and *ceypā* are generally used to denote an action done by an agent previous to another action done by the same. Their use in Tamil is generally similar to the indeclinable participles in Sanskrit. The sūtras '*avarraṭ mutanilai mūṇṇum viṇaimutan muṭipina* (Tol. Col. 230)' and '*ceyten eccat tīanta kalam eytiṣa nuṭaittē vārak kalam* (Tol. Col. 239)' convey almost the same idea as '*śamānakartṛkayōḥ pūrvakālē* (P. A. 3.4.21). But sometimes these indeclinable participles in Tamil are used as absolutes, when their subject denotes a part of the person denoted by the subject of the finite verb. (e.g.) *kai iṇṇa avay vāṭṭāṇ*. Very rarely are they used as gerunds. (e.g.) *nāvēy ḍṭṭi vaṭṭiṭṭil āṇṭa-v-uravōṇ maruka* (P. N. 66.1.) Here *ḍṭṭi* is used in the sense of 'for steering'.

The gerunds of the form *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyarkū*, *ceytena* and *ceya* convey the same sense as the infinitive of purpose in Sanskrit. But there is difference in their use. *In Sanskrit the infinitive of purpose always takes for its subject, the subject of the finite verb which follows.*<sup>1</sup> But in Tamil they may take the same subject or not.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case we have the absolute construction. (e.g.) *maḷai peyya, kuḷam nīṇaintatū*.

The form *ceyiṇ* is used to denote condition. Such an infinitive form is not found in Sanskrit. In the place of *ceyiṇ* Sanskrit has to use '*karōti cēl*.'

Similarly, the form *ceyigum* is used in literature to denote contrast. It means 'though one does'. In its place Sanskrit generally uses an indeclinable participle followed by *api* as *kṛtvā api*.

In Tamil a number of finite verbs are used without the connecting particle. (e.g.) *vāṭṭiṇṇ paravutun* (Pari. 70.83.); *nīṇ kaṇṇen varuval* (P.N. 23.17.); *nā nalkiṇai viṭṭumai* (P. N. 136.24). In such cases, all the finite verbs except the last are

1. *Samāna-kartṛkēṣu tumun*. (P. A. 3.3.158.)

2. *Ēnai y-eccam viṇai-mutal-āṇum*  
*Ag-van tiyaiyum viṇai-nilai y-āṇum*  
*Tām-iyar maruṇkiṇ muṭiyu m-ceypa*. (Tol. Col. 232.)

taken to be indeclinable participles by the author of the Nannūl and the later grammarians.<sup>1</sup>

5.10. PECULIAR INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN CONSTRUCTIONS BY TAMIL GRAMMARIANS: 5.101. In the sentence '*Nampi poṇṇi periyaṇ*' which means *Nampi* is great on account of wealth, Caṅkaranamacciṅkavāyappulavar, a commentator on the Nannūl says under the sūtra '*nyartinaṁ loṭaruta . . .*' (Na. 377) that the word *Nampi* is *nyartinaṁ* *śubhā* or subject and the word *poṇṇi* is *śarīraṁ* *śubhā* and the latter is peculiarly followed by the *nyartinaṁ* predicate *periyaṇ*.<sup>2</sup> When one reads the sentence, it may clearly appear that something is predicated of *Nampi* and not *poṇṇi*; besides the predicative element is not confined to the word *periyaṇ* alone. Hence under the general rules of grammar it must be taken that *Nampi* is the subject and the compound word *poṇṇi periyaṇ* corresponding to Sanskrit *dhanamahitah* is the predicate or *periyaṇ* is the predicate and *poṇṇi* is the enlargement of the predicate in the sense of *poṇṇāḥ*. If *poṇṇi* and *periyaṇ* are taken to be two separate words, it may be easily said that *poṇṇi* is third case, with its third case suffix dropped according to the sūtra *Irutiṇ m-ṭaiṇ m-ellāṇ-urupum—Neri-paṭ uporuḷ-vayī ṇilavutal varaiyār* (Tol. Col. 103) and the third case denotes cause as is sanctioned by the word *etā* in Tol. Col. 74; or *poṇṇi periyaṇ* may be taken to be a verb formed from a compound *poṇṇi perumai*. The objection that is raised by Caṅkaranamacciṅkavāyappulavar against the latter interpretation is that, in that case, it must have been *poṇṇi periyaṇ* according to the rules of sandhi. Either this form may be brought under an exception, or the former interpretation may be accepted. It has a parallel in the sentence *avaḷ kaṇṇāḥ kottai* where the third case is used. Similarly *nampi poṇṇāḥ periyaṇ* has assumed the form of *nampi poṇṇi periyaṇ*.

If we carefully read through the sūtra '*nyartinaṁ loṭaruta poṇṇi mutalāṅgum atarōṭu cārtiṇ attinaṁ mutipina*' (Na. 377) Caṅkaranamacciṅkavāyappulavar seems to voice forth the opinion of

1. *Vinai-muṇṇē vinai y-ecca m-ākalum*  
*Kuṇṇip-pu-muṇṇē yir-ecca m-ākalu m-uḷavē*. (Na. 351.)
2. Na. C., p. 206.

Nannūlar. One is at a loss to know why Nannūlar should have chosen to suggest that explanation. *There is, in my opinion, no sūtra in Tolkāppiyam conveying the same idea; but I have come into contact with Tamil Pandits who think that this sūtra is based on Tol. Col. 61. It may be considered here whether it is so or not.*

5.1011. The sūtra referred to is this:—

*Kaṇṇum tōḷum mulaiyum pīravum*

*Paymai cuṭṭiya ciṇaiṇilai-k kiḷavi*

*Paymai kūrṇ kaṭappā t-ilave*

*Tamvinaik-k kiṭaiṇ m-ṇuttalaiṇ kaṭaiyē. (Tol. Col. 61.)*

This may be translated thus:—The words denoting the limbs as *kaṇ*, *tōḷ*, *mulai*, etc., which generally denote more than one (*i. e.*) two, need not denote two except when they are followed by verbs suited to them, *i. e.*, neuter plural verbs. The examples which are given by Īmpūṇar under this sūtra are *kaṇ nallaḷ*, *tōḷ nallaḷ*, and *mulai nallaḷ*. He has not stated that the subject, in such cases, is *kaṇ*, *tōḷ* or *mulai*. But the later grammarians and the author of the Nannūl seem to have mistaken *kaṇ*, etc., to be in the nominative case and hence the subject of *nallaḷ*, etc.

I would prefer to interpret the sūtra as follows :—The words *kaṇ*, *tōḷ*, *mulai*, etc., which refer to objects forming natural pairs do not invariably denote the pair unless they are followed by a plural verb. Hence it is not absolutely necessary that a woman should have both her eyes beautiful to be described as *avaḷ kaṇ nallaḷ*. Such a sentence would be appropriate even when one of the eyes was beautiful. To be more clear, I may take the example ' *Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-iḷḷ* ', which I have often heard used by recognised Pandits. It is known to every Tamil scholar that *Kaṇṇaki*, the heroine of the Cilappatikāram cut off one of her breasts and threw it away at Madura. Hence ' *Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-iḷḷ* ' does not mean that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of her *breasts*, but it means that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of *one breast*. Hence this sūtra does not deal with the *form* of words, but their *meaning*.

If such an interpretation is not given, I think that this sūtra is not necessary here and hence it may be omitted; for, it is



certain that Tolkāppiyāṇār would have taken only *avaḷ* as the subject of *nallaḷ* and hence the predicate *nallaḷ* agrees with the subject in gender and number.

One may question what the construction of *kaṇ* is, in '*avaḷ kaṇ nallaḷ*' according to this interpretation. As I said in the case of the form *poṇ ṣeriyāṇ*, one may take *kaṇ* as a separate word in third case with the case-suffix dropped, or may take *kaṇnallaḷ* as a compound acting the part of the predicate to *avaḷ*.

5.102. There are two more types of sentences where my explanation of the construction happens to differ from that ordinarily found in commentaries.

5.1021. '*Cākhūṁ accu iṇuṁ*' (K. 475) represents one of these types. On this Kuṇaḷ, Parimēlaḷakar writes that the verb *iṇuṁ* which is suited to the word *accu* which denotes a part of the cart is used here as the predicate of the word *cākhū* (which denotes the whole). The sentence means 'the cart will have its axle broken.' Though it is the axle that breaks, the cart also may be said to break in its axle. Hence it seems to me that it is not absolutely necessary to take *iṇuṁ* to be a *ciṇai-ṣiṇai* or the verb suited to the *ciṇai* or part. Parimēlaḷakar has said so perhaps with the idea that *accu* is also a subject, as interpreted by Naṇṇūlār. (Cf. *poṇ ṣeriyāṇ* supra.) It has already been said that it is against the ordinary ways of expressing one's idea. Hence, in this sentence, *accuṇuṁ* may be taken as the predicate of *cākhūṁ* or *iṇuṁ* may be taken as the predicate and *accu* as the seventh case singular with the case-suffix dropped.

5.1022. '*Aḷattarḱariyai aṇiṇuṁ iṇuṁ*' (P. N. 20. 516.) represents another type. The commentator on Puraṇāṇṇūṇṇu says that the *ciṇai*, *aṇiṇuṁ* and *iṇuṁ* have taken for their predicate *aḷattarḱariyai*, the verb suited to the *mutal* or the person having *aṇiṇu*, *iṇuṁ*, etc. It is evident that the word *aḷattarḱariyai* is second person singular and means 'you cannot be measured', and the words *aṇiṇuṁ* and *iṇuṁ* are each neuter singular meaning knowledge and compassion respectively. Hence the sentence may be taken to mean 'you cannot be measured in your knowledge and compassion'. Since *aḷattarḱariyai* is second person

singular, the word *nī* may be taken as the subject that is understood and *arivum* and *iramum* may be taken as nouns in the seventh case with the case-suffixes dropped, since the dropping of the seventh case suffix in nouns which follow the predicates is allowed by the sūtra

*Ai-y-nñ kaṇ-ṇ-a m-allā-p poruḷ-vayin*

*Mey-y-urupū tokāa v-iṇuḷi y-āṇa.* (Tol. Col. 105.)

and such examples are found in plenty in literature.—(c. g.) *kaṇṭaṇṇ varuval...kāḷē* (P. N. 23.22.)—Here *kāḷē* means *kāḷiṇ-kaṇṇē*; *tiṇaittaṇai pōluṇ ceykai* (Kampar. K. 247.78.)—here *ceykai* means *ceykaiyiykaṇ*.

Hence I think that it is not necessary to formulate, as is done by the later grammarians, that the words which denote parts of a whole may take predicates after them which are suited to the whole and *vice versa*.



## CONCLUSION.

It may be evident from what has been said that Tolkāppiyaṇār clearly realised that Tamil was not related to Sanskrit either morphologically or genealogically and deftly exploited the ideas contained in the earlier grammatical literature in Sanskrit, particularly in those works which dealt with Vēdic etymology, without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil language. On the other hand, the large influx of Sanskritic elements in Tamil since the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār appears to have so far clouded the linguistic vision of the author of *Viracōliyam* that he was led to assume close family relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit. Further the author of *Viracōliyam* does not appear to have realised that Tolkāppiyaṇār's model was not Pāṇini so much as the *Prātiśākhya*s and the *Nirukta*. As a result of this important divergence in view-point, the *Viracōliyam* proceeded to violently dragoon Tamil language and grammar into the groove of Sanskrit—a feature which, in no sense, is traceable in Tolkāppiyam. It must, however, be conceded, in fairness to *Viracōliyam*, that its author has brought within the scope of his grammar such changes in the Tamil language as had come about since the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār.

Naṇṇūlār was not a victim to the linguistic deflection which marred the value of the *Viracōliyam*. While he adhered to the method of Tolkāppiyaṇār in respect of his fidelity to the genius of the Tamil language, he proceeded to complete the supplementing process initiated in the *Viracōliyam*. A fateful periodicity appears to have characterised the line of Tamil Grammarians; for, the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* who came after Naṇṇūlār has lapsed with redoubled vigour into the Sanskritising groove of the *Viracōliyam*.

But, luckily, the vitality of Tamil outlived all these grammatical vicissitudes. It is indeed gratifying that some of the latest grammarians—*Vaiṭṭiyaṇātaṭṭeikar*, the Rev. C.J. Beschi and *Civañāṇamuṇivar*—have happily switched back to the healthy out-look and ideal of Tolkāppiyam.

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